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**THE
FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA**

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**THE
FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE
IN INDIA**

*A History of the Establishment and Progress of the
Turkish Sultanate of Delhi: 1200-1290 A.D*

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH
M.A., Ph.D. (LONDON), F.L.A

Department of Islamic History and Culture,
Calcutta University.

Sh. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
KASHMIRI BAZAR, LAHORE

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To
Kaniz Fatema Sughra Latif,
my mother,—now a memory.

PREFACE

The importance of the century following the destruction of the Chauhana kingdom in 1190 A.D. needs little stressing. After the Arab and Ghaznawide preliminaries the Ghoride conquest planted the Muslim Turks over North India, firmly determined to settle and rule in the country. They became instrumental in the diffusion of those cultural elements of Islam which were to dominate Indian life for several centuries. And, yet, underlying the new values, was the continuity of Indian institutions and ways of life which the new rulers had little equipment or desire to drastically alter. The vanquished Hindu powers never forgave them and sorely tried their resources at a time when the Mongol barbarian consumed all their energy. Their empiricism, however, proved a great asset and by compromise and improvization they brought the foundation-process to a successful close. But in so doing they lost their trans-Indian affiliations and environment entered to outline the culture-pattern that is India of to-day and of yesterday. As initiating the medieval age of India the 13th century of the Christian era, therefore, holds the key to her history.

In the following pages is presented a study of this age of transition. My source materials had of necessity to be mainly those of the conquerors but I can claim to have neglected or failed to co-ordinate no Indian evidence, epigraphic, numismatic or literary.

A common term for the Delhi sultans I have substituted by Memeluke, for, while it correctly conveys their original status, it is yet free from the inexactitude implied by the term slave.

To critics I owe an explanation for what may be called unscientific method of transcribing non-English words. My defence is convenience, convenience for the reader and for the printers. Besides, the use of diacritical marks has always seemed to me to smack a little of pedantry for, to the scholar familiar with the language, they are unnecessary, and to one not knowing it, they are equally useless except to show off the author's knowledge. Except for the philologist and the precisian, phonetic approximation, I feel, must remain the easiest, because the most natural, means of rendering foreign words. For place names which, with their admittedly phonetic inaccuracies, have almost become part of the English language, I have retained the spelling used in the gazetteers except for Mathurah and Awadh whose anglicised pronunciations are too atrocious to be used.

There has occurred a rather irritatingly large number of printing errors. For this my faulty proof-reading is as much responsible as war time congestion in the press where metals have to be speedily released, sometimes at the cost of accuracy.

Among those whose valued help I have to acknowledge I must mention Dr. C. C. Davies of Oxford, formerly of London University, whose unfailing courtesy and expert advice greatly eased what at the beginning appeared a forbiddingly difficult task. I am also grateful to the late Sir E. Denison Ross and Mr. W. H. Moreland for providing facilities and helping me solve problems. Mr. Nelson Wright very kindly read through my chapter on the coinage and made important corrections. I must also thankfully acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. Hasan Barani, advocate of Bulandshahr in allowing me to see and

make use of Muizzuddin's *Firman*. To my teachers, Dr. N. K. Dutt and Professor H. C. Raychowdhury I am equally indebted for advice and suggestions. For many acts of kindness in the various stages of the work I must also render thanks to my friends Dr. Mahdi Husain and Mr. Muhibbul Hasan Khan. I am under deep obligation to my pupil and friend Abdul Majed, M.A., who, cheerfully and at a great cost of time and comfort, underwent the tedium of preparing the index.

And, finally, I must record my gratitude to M. Abu Taher and the late Abul Mohsin for all they have been to me, a gratitude too deep for elaboration or formal acknowledgment.

A. B. M. Habibullah.

Calcutta University.

September, 15th, 1945.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- Add:** Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum, London.
ASR: Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.
BLSOS: Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies.
BMC: British Museum Catalogue of Coins.
CCIM: Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum.
CHI: Cambridge History of India. e
DHB: Dacca University History of Bengal.
EI: Epigraphia Indica.
EIM: Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
IO: India Office, London.
IA: Indian Antiquary.
IGI: Imperial Gazetteer of India.
IHQ: Indian Historical Quarterly.
JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society,
JASB: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBORS: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JDL: Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
JGIS: Journal of the Greater India Society.
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
JRASBL: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Letters.
MASB: Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
MASI: Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NC: Numismatic Chronicle.
Or: Oriental Manuscripts in the British Museum.
TA: Tabakat-i-Akbari.
TM: Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

No strange faith came to India with the Turkish conquerors. Almost simultaneously with political conquests in the seventh century Islam began to find lodgements in India's western coast, where Arab merchants, famelier for centuries, continued, even as Muslims, to receive warm welcome. Princes, anxious to improve their commercial prosperity, accorded generous treatment to the people who commanded the main trade routes of the civilized world. Bearded men in longskirted tunics, congregating, for prayer at fixed intervals, in a rectangular building which contained no idols, and adhering to no caste rules, presented a sight whose novelty wore off with the passage of time. As they established colonies and multiplied, they became an integral part of the population. Moving with his wares in the country, the 'Tajik' added a new pattern of culture and a new channel of intellectual commerce. He enjoyed the liberty of preaching his faith, though direct conversion at the beginning must have been rare; an early report, quoted by a tenth century geographer, complains that Islam had not made a single convert in India¹. But a permeation of its cultural ideas was inevitable; to the natives, particularly of the lower class, the Muslim symbolised prosperity and emancipation.

¹ Quoted in Nainar, *Arab geographer's knowledge of South India*, p. 108.

To the efforts of these merchant-missionaries is to be ascribed the formation of the earliest community of Indian Mussalmans.

Nor was the invasion of Sind an isolated or fortuitous military event. With the Arab merchantmen came

The Sind affair patrol boats and survey parties; the Konkan coast suffered a seaborne attack in the second Caliph's reign; armed ships conveying the merchant vessels, kept probing the shore defences. From the Mekran frontier reconnoitering expeditions finally developed into a determined advance through the border kingdoms of 'Kabul and Zabul' to culminate in Muhammad b. Qasim's victories.

But the Arab was not destined to raise Islam to be a political force in India. Whatever its cultural implications, politically, the Sind affair led to a dead end. It touched only a fringe of the Indian continent and the faint stirrings it produced were soon forgotten. In the Islamic Commonwealth the Arab soon began to loose ground; geography stood in the way of his expansion in India; and by the tenth century, his conquering role having been played out, the Indian princes recognised in him only the enterprising and adaptable merchant of old.

To win a sovereign state for the faith in India was a task for which history selected the Turk, a race whose own conversion was still incomplete and whose *forte*

The Turk. was the sword. He brought boundless energy, an all-pervading racialism and the fierce orthodoxy of a neo-convert. He drank deep at the well of Persian culture but he possessed neither the Persian's grace and imagination nor the Arab's fine sensibility of mind. He was grossly materialistic and an intensely practical man of action. The

Arab's fiery enthusiasm produced only a faint echo in his heart and, though good-natured and jovial, he could at times, like his distant Mongol kinsmen, be almost devoid of human sentiments. To him, Islam was only a weapon, a weapon of decoration and of offence. It raised his status as a member of the most progressive world community and opened the way to power and to riches. But he was not a barbarian; he detested the uncouth Mongols of Tartary. He was sensitive to beauty, justice and to humanism and learning; and amazing was his transformation. From the rude horsemen, galloping in the steppes, to the poetry-loving patrons of Firdousi and Khusrau seems a vast change but all this was accomplished in less than a hundred years. For a nomadic, fighting race to be the protector of all that was best in Islamic culture when the Mongols enveloped all Asia in a whirlwind of destruction, is no mean achievement.

Such were the people on whom fell the mantle of the Arabs. From the eighth century a vast shifting of population was in progress in Central Asia, and in successive waves the Seljuq, the Ghuzz, the Khitai, the Ilbari and the Qarlugh tribes of the Turkish race spread over the Islamic lands. They established kingdoms and empires and on pressure from behind, yielded and moved further afield. Thus they overran Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and India, only to loose ground once more to the final wave of immigrants, the Mongols.

By the tenth century the Turk was in military contact with the Indian principality beyond the Indus, the Hindu Shahiya kingdom of Kabul. Within a little over fifty years of the establishment of Ghazni principality that

Ghaznavide
invasion.

kingdom was wiped out of existence and Turkish dominion was extended to the Ravi. Far to the east of the Indus, a Muslim power was thus established, which, unlike the Arab colonists of Sind, soon found the key to the geography of India and threatened the approaches to the Gangetic valley. For nearly two centuries the Ghaznawides ruled over the Punjab and became an integral part of India's political map. Hindusthan became the next objective. And great was the concern of the Indian Princes. The '*Hammira*' became the symbol of a mighty aggressor, and it looked as if the House of Mahmud would enthrone Islam in the heart of *Aryavarta*.

That honour, however, was not to be theirs. In the third generation from Mahmud his central Asian Empire was rolled up by the Seljuqs. Fresh eruption from Turkistan, family feuds and incompetence, coupled with the rise of their erstwhile Shansabani vassals from the mountain fortress of Ghor, compelled the latter Ghaznawides to fall back on their Indian possession. Even if resources permitted, expansion on the East and consequent war with the Rajputs would be ill advised when Ghor was in perpetual hostility. Instead, they compromised and made alliance with the Indian Princes.

It was thus left to the Shansabanis, an obscure dynasty of mixed origin to complete the process. They replaced the Ghaznawides, and though Central Asia received their first attention, The Shansabani occupation. devitalised and warring Hindusthan was found easier to overrun. Wave after wave of Turkish adventurers came from the North and along the road which now lay open to India's richest provinces to find congenial employment, pros-

perity and means to win fame. Within a span of fifteen years mighty princes from the Siwalikh to Bengal were laid low and improvised mosques proclaimed the installation of Islam as the ruling faith.

But to overrun was not to make permanent conquest. That was a protracted affair and took a whole century. Rajputs got over the initial blow; Turkish factiousness rearded progress; like a tornado Changiz Khan swept over Asia and cut the Turks from their home-

Scope of present work; the Memelukes.

land. Through perseverant statesmanship and luck, however, the Turk escaped the fate of his Arab predecessor and was able to provide a solid foundation to Muslim rule. In this work of initial consolidation the Memeluke Sultans played a vital role. They preserved the kingdom from destruction and the Khaljis only fulfilled a historical task when they expanded and made it an ampire.

As the founders of Muslim rule in India the Memeluke sultans thus deserve greater respect and closer study than have so far been devoted. The century witnessed not only the gradual shaping of a State-system, but also the beginnings of many of the factors that constituted the composite culture and society of medieaval India. The brilliance of the Moghuls has tended to obscure the no less remarkable epoch of their predecessors; a balanced judgment, however can only proceed from a closer study to which the following pages are devoted.

Paucity of original materials may, however, to some extent, account for the neglect shown to this period, but a careful search will

Sources.

yield encouraging results.

For the history of Central Asia and the rise of the

Shansabani dynasty of Ghor, the *Kamilut-Twarih* of Sheikh Abdul Hasan b. Abul Karam as-Shaibani, known as Ibnul Asir, stands out pre-eminently. The author who lived in Mesopotamia, and completed his work in 628/1230, was contemporary to many of the events narrated in the last two volumes of his work. He used a critical judgment in utilising his sources of information with the result that rarely has his account been found wrong or unconfirmed. This however can not be said of his notices of Indian affairs which, though remarkably correct in dates and essential facts, are admittedly based on hearsay which thus taints the details of his narrative. He is however valuable in so far as he confirms other sources. In some places he supplies interesting explanations or details which, though not mentioned by other authorities, appear to be correct. The *Rahatus-Sudur* of Najmuddin Abu Baker Muhmmad b. Ali ar-Rawandi, is a valuable history of the later Seljuqs of Iraq, whose final extinction the author lived to see. Although Ataul Mulk Juwaini, the author of the famous *Tarikh i-Jahan Kusha-i-Juwaini*, must have drawn from these two sources, his work, completed in the year 658/1260, is invaluable for the history of Central Asia in the 13th century from the conquests of Changiz Khan. He held a high administrative office in Baghdad under Hulaku and was in a position to use Mongol official documents. His work is thus the first detailed and authentic account of the Mongol conquests in Western Asia. He is pro-Mongol in his attitude—for he wrote to commemorate the reign of Mangu Khan—but the account is singularly free from inaccuracies. Like all other central Asian writers, however, his notices of India are meagre and are made only in connection with either the Shansabanis

or the fugitive Khwarizmi Prince, Jalaluddin. The same may be said of a few other histories written outside India during the century. Of these, the *Sirat-i-Jalaluddin Mangbarni*, by Nuruddin Mohammad Zaidari, Nessawi, a friend and companion of the fugitive prince, completed in 1240 A.D., is important as supplying valuable detail of the prince's activity in India. The work is extremely biassed in favour of its hero, and presents a distorted picture of the conditions in which Jalaluddin appears all the more brilliant. The *Nizamut-Twarikh* of Abu Said Abdullah b. Abul Hassan al-Baizawi, the celebrated commentator of the Quran, completed in 674/1294, hardly deserves mention not only for its extremely brief account of the Ghorides and the Sultans of Delhi, but also for its grossly inaccurate statements which were evidently based on rumours and tales. Of the histories written early in the 14th century, mention should be made of the *Tarikh-i-Wassaf*, by Abdullah b. Fazlullah Shirazi, written between 1300 and 1328 A.D. It is a continuation of Juwaini's history of the Mongols and begins with the later years of Mangu Khan's reign. India finds only casual reference in course of the account of the Mongol conquest, and yet the work throws light on Mongol activities on the Indian frontier. In one place it furnishes a valuable information respecting the relation of Mahmud's government with Mangu Khan and supports the account of the official chronicle of Delhi. Its notice of the history of the Sultans of Delhi is however, unreliable; only from the time of the Khaljis the account begins to be tolerably free from errors. Containing almost the same matter relating to India is the universal history of Rashiduddin

called *Jamiut-Tarikh*, completed in 1810 A.D. Valuable as the work is for the contemporary history of Central Asia, its account of the rulers of Delhi is hardly more dependable than that of Wassaf, from whom it quotes extensively. Equally imperfect is another work of the same period called *Tarikh-i-Binagiti*, written in 1817 A.D. by Abul Fazl b. Muhammad al-Binagiti, and dedicated to Sultan Abu Said of Persia. It is a general history of the world but in reality is nothing more than an abridgment of Rashiduddin's *Jamiut-Twarikh*, which it follows in all its errors and is thus of no material help. The *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, completed in 780/1329 by Hamdullah Mastaufi Qazwini, is however, a more helpful history. It has been considered to rank among the best general histories of the East, but its usefulness for the history of India is confined to its brief though generally accurate account of the Ghaznawides, Shansabanis and the sultans of Delhi. Except for the Ghorides, for whom it supplies some interesting details, the value of the work, so far as facts and dates are concerned, is merely corroborative. Of later histories written outside India, mention may be made of the *Mujmal-i-Fasihi*, a chronological compendium of prominent events composed about the middle of the 15th century by Fasihuddin Ahmad b. Muhammad Fasihi al-Khafi, the *Rauzatus-Safa* of Mir Khvand completed in 1498, the *Habibus-Siyar* and the *Khulasatul-Akhbar* of his grandson, Khwand Amir,—compiled in 1528. Mention should also be made of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, compiled by a board of editors under the direction of Akbar and brought down to 1682, the thousandth year from the death of the Prophet. The authors took great pain in utilising all available sources with care and discretion. The sultans of Delhi, however, find only casual men-

tion, for the work is mainly concerned with the history of Central Asia and is arranged in a strictly chronological order. An anonymous work entitled *Rauzatul-Jinnat* written in the 15th century, though mainly a historical and topographical account of the city of Herat under the Kurt dynasty founded by Ruknuddin, gives some useful details respecting Mongol operations on the Indian border in the 13th century.

Apart from these works which are only supplementary in value, our chief original literary sources are very few in number. The earliest among

Original sources, them is the *Tajul-maqqasir* of Hasan Nizami, completed towards the end of

Iltutmish's reign. It contains a narration of the chief military events of the years 588-626/1192-1228, and although extremely florid and ornamental in style, is generally correct in the minimum of facts which it embodies. The author came to India soon after the conquest of Delhi and commenced his work early in the reign of Aibak to whom the first part of the work was dedicated. Except one in the India Office, all the existing manuscripts of the work are defective in one place or another, and none of them contains the last portion covering the years 614 to 626/1217-1228, which Elliot quoted, in his extracts, from a copy in the possession of Nawab Ziauddin of Loharu. Extremely valuable for the early history of the conquest and independent of the *Tajul Maqqasir*, is the historical portion contained in the Introduction to the book of genealogies of Fakhruddin Mubarakshah, recently discovered and edited by Denison Ross. The author, who was a learned man of repute in the court of Ghazni and later of Delhi, wrote another history of the Ghorides in verse which, though mentioned by *Minhaj-i-Siraj*, unfortunately

does not appear to be any longer extant. Another of his works, entitled *Adabul Harb was-Shujaat* and dedicated to Iltutmish, has been preserved and supplies useful details about the government and military organisation of the newly established kingdom of Delhi. The famous collection of stories entitled *Jawamiul-Hikayat* by Nuruddin Muhammad Ausi, and dedicated to the *wazir* of Iltutmish, is useful only in its preface where Iltutmish's military operations against Qubachah in 625/1227 are described and of which the author was an eye witness. For a connected contemporary account of the period, however, we are mainly dependant on the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhajuddin Abu Umar b. Sirajuddin al-Juzjani, completed in 658/1260. It is a general history of the world but its value consists in its first-hand account of the Shansabani conquests in India and the subsequent history of the new kingdom in which the author held high ecclesiastical and judicial offices. He was not only a contemporary, but also an actual participater in some of the events narrated in the work, which consequently suffers from personal prejudice. He is extremely biassed towards the Ghorides and the dynasty of Iltutmish and in many places conceals facts unfavourable to his patron Ulugh Khan and the Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud to whom the work is dedicated. Although generally correct with regard to facts, he is very sparing in supplying details and in some places makes contradictory statements. Nevertheless its value as our main original source can hardly be over estimated. Although the author is known to have lived till the accession of Balban, it is unfortunate that he did not continue his history down to the death of Mahmud. The history of the period from 658/1260 to 664/1265 is thus left a perfect blank

which has not been filled up by any subsequent writer. Ferishta mentions a work by Ainuddin Bijapuri, entitled *Mulhiqat-i-Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, from which he draws some of his informations not found in any other known history. But neither the *Mulhiqat* nor its author is known at the present day. Ferishta quotes from another author, named Sadar Jahan Gujrati, the name of whose work is equally unknown. For the rest of the period, consequently, we are exclusively dependent on Ziauddin Barani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, completed in 1359 and dedicated to Firoz Tughluq. Although he claims to have resumed the history from where Minhaj-i-Siraj left off, his account opens with the first year of Balban's reign. The work is anecdotal in character and is very deficient in dates and details. He is guilty of distortion of facts and of colouring the account with his own personal opinions. He is fond of long discourses which he puts in the mouth of the historical personages and thus strains after effect. His work can hardly be called a chronicle in the real sense of the term for facts which, in themselves, are scanty in a work of 600 pages and covering a period of nearly hundred years, are not objectively narrated as in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. They are presented in a manner designed to suit the particular character in which he wants to reveal the eight sultans treated in the book. The account of Balban's reign, for example, is not a faithful chronicle of events but a character-study in which he is made to appear more as a doctrinaire than as a practical statesman. This method of treating history is illustrated by another of his work, namely *Fatawah-i-Jahandari* written early in the 14th century in which he preaches his own views about the governmental policy and which are identical with those which

Balban is reported to have held. Barani was, however, a diligent recorder of administrative details. Having held offices in the government, possibly in the revenue department, he shows an interest in agrarian affairs though his remarks are sometimes ambiguous and disappointingly scrappy.

With Barani our original sources come to an end. Casual, but some times extremely illuminating references to political and social life are found in a series of

Contemporary
non-political
writings.

contemporary writings which are professedly non-historical. Among them, the poetical works of Amir Khusrau, a contemporary of Barani, contain interesting side-lights on contemporary events and personages. Some of his *qasidahs* addressed to the leading men of the court are usually helpful. He was a favourite courtier of Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Balban, after whose death he took service in the court of Kaiqubad. At the latter's request he composed the poem entitled *Qiranus-Sadain*, describing Kaiqubad's meeting with his father. In his preface to the poem entitled *Ashiqā*, he gives brief *resumé*, of the history of the sultans of Delhi upto Alauddin Khalji. Valuable informations respecting the working of the governmental machinery and also about some of the expeditions are found in his *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, which, though admittedly written to exhibit his literary skill and ingenuity, yet embodies the substance of some actual letters and *firman*s. Of the same value and interest is another of his work named *Matlaul-Anwar*, which throws light on contemporary manners and society. His friend, Amir Hasan, compiled a record of the sayings of the celebrated saint, Nizamuddin, under each day and edited them with the title of *Fawadul-Fawaid*. Although the emphasis is

mainly on the spiritual side of the talks, the anecdotes and stories related by the saint about his contemporaries are extremely interesting. Of similar interest are, (a) *Dalilul Arefin*, a collection of the sayings of Muinuddin Chishti, by his disciple, the famous Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki; (b) the *Asrarul Auliya*, a memoir of Fariduddin Shakarunji, compiled by his disciple and son-in-law; (c) the *Rauzatul Aqtab*, an account of the teachings of Qutbuddin Kaki by Muhammad Bulaq; and (d) the *Rahatul Muhebbin*, a memoir of Nizamuddin Chishti by his devoted disciple, the poet Amir Khusrau. Another work of a similar nature entitled *Rahatul Qulub*,—a collection of the sayings of Fariduddin Shakarunji by Nizamuddin Chishti, may also be mentioned. Later works dealing with the lives of the saints based on the above-mentioned compilations are (a) the *Miratul Abrar* by Husamuddin Manikpuri written about 1665; (b) the *Akhbarul Akhbar* by Abdul Haq Dehlavi, completed in the reign of Jehangir; (c) *Siarul Arefin* by Hamid b. Fazlullah, written in 1585; and (d) the *Safinatul Auliya* by Jahan Ara, daughter of Shahjahan.

Among proper histories written in the 14th and 15th centuries, the versified history, entitled *Futuhus-Salatin* by an author having the pen name of *Isami*, and completed in 1348, supplies a great deal of interesting though unconfirmed details. It has recently been edited by A. M. Husain. Although one finds it difficult

Later works.

to share the editor's enthusiasm for the work, its usefulness can not be denied. It is contemporary with Barani's work, and, but for its concession to the needs of poetry, should claim equal attention. It still awaits proper evaluation specially in the portions

relating to the 13th century. The *Kitabur-Rahlah* of the famous Moorish traveller, Ibn Battutah, completed towards the middle of the 14th century is not so valuable for our period as it is for Tughluq history, since its references to the earlier history of the Sultanate are evidently bazaar stories and are not only unconfirmed but in some places demonstrably wrong. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* of Yahia b. Ahmed b. Abdullah Sirhindi, completed in 1434, although mainly based on the works mentioned above, gives some additional information for which however no authority is cited. Of the histories compiled during the Mughal period, mention must be made of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizamuddin Bakhshi, the *Muntakhabut-Twarikh*, of Abdul Qadir Budaoni, and the *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, commonly known as the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, by Muhammad Qasim b. Hindu Khan, dedicated to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur. While the first two works are merely reproductions of the primary authorities discussed above, Ferishta utilised other sources. Only in a few instances have his statements been found incorrect; he is certainly accurate and more scientific in his treatment of facts than others of his line though he is prone to be a little imaginative. In any case, he does not deserve Raverty's uncharitable remarks. Of even greater value is another history of the Mughul period named *Zafar-le-walibi*, by Haji Dabir written in Arabic towards the end of Jehangir's reign. The work is ostensibly a history of Gujrat but it traces the course of Muslim history from the earliest times in India, and has been edited by Denison Ross with the title of *An Arabic History of Gujrat*. In so far as the 13th century is concerned, it is, however, only a carefully abridged translation of

the earlier accounts though a few other unnamed authors also seem to have been consulted.

Coming to the provincial histories, notice should be taken of the *Tarikh-i-Masumi* of Muhammad Masum, written in the reign of Akbar, which gives some additional information respecting the early history of Sind, specially of the local Sumra and Sunnia tribes of Lower Sind. The account, however, differs in many details from other works like the *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* of Tahir Muhammad Nisyani b. Syed Hasan, of Thattah, completed in 1620 and dedicated to Jehangir. This work is useful only for its account of the Sumras, though it is disjointed and does not state its authority. The *Tuhfatul-Kiram*, a general history of the east from the earliest times to the 18th century by Mir Ali Sher Qaani, of Thattah, partly confirms the accounts of Mir Masum and Tahir Nisyani, though it also does not state its source. The traditional account of the fortress of Gwalior since its foundation is contained in the *Gwalior Namah* of Hiranman Munshi completed in the 12th year of Aurangzeb's reign. Much of the account is evidently legendary and, at its best, has only a corroborative value. The same may be said of a local history of Jammu entitled *Raj Darashani*, by Ganesh Das Badrah written in 1847. It is hardly worth the confidence placed in it by Raverty, since it is based entirely on such unreliable and legendary accounts as the *Prithviraja Rasau*, and none of the statements regarding the ancient dynasty of Jammu finds confirmation in the chronicles of Kashmir or, in fact, in any of the earlier works. Mention should also be made in connection with provincial histories of the *Riyazus-Salatin* by

Ghulam Husain Salim, completed in 1768, purporting to be a history of Bengal from the Muslim conquest. Although the author appears to have used the existing histories, he was able to exercise very little discrimination and as such has incorporated not a few unauthorised and erroneous statements in his account of the 13th century.

Among works throwing light in the administrative practices, very few treatises belong to this period. But Muslim governmental institutions, methods and notions

Treatises on
administration.

have a continuity whose full comprehension can only proceed from a study of such works as al-Mawardi's *Ahkamus-Sultaniyyah*—a tenth century treatise on Abbaside state-craft, and the *Siyasat Namah*, (discourses on the art of government and politics) by the prime minister of the Seljuq king, Malikshah, named Nizamul Mulk of Tus. Books on Muslim jurisprudence like the *Wiqayah*, also have a bearing on the subject, for all Muslim legal institutions and practices have a basic uniformity. Of those written specifically in our period in India, the *Adabul Harb* and the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* have already been mentioned. The *Fiqh Firozshahi*, originally compiled by one Yaqub but revised and enlarged by an anonymous author and dedicated to Firuz Tughluq, is of considerable interest as it embodies, like the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, current legal practices which are not always found to be in conformity with the standard works of jurisprudence; it is thus a key to the understanding of the extent to which state practices were being secularised. Of no inconsiderable use, though not strictly contemporary, are al-Qalqashandi's *Subhul-A'sha*, an encyclopaedic description of the world, and Shihab-

uddin Abbas's *Masalikul-Absar*, both compiled early in the 14th century, wherein is found valuable account of Delhi administration.

What should prove, when published, a documentary source of first-rate importance, is an original *firman* of the Shansabani conqueror, Muizzuddin Muhammad b. Sam, now in the possession of Mr. Hasan Barani, advocate of Bulandshahr, United Provinces. It purports to confer offices and grant lands in settling the administration of Baran after its conquest from Chander Sen, the Dor raja, and is dated 588 A.H. Mr. Barani has promised its early publication; in the meantime he was kind enough to enable the author to see the document and has, at his request, very courteously furnished an abstract of its contents, printed as an appendix to the present work.

Muizzuddins'
Firman.

Exclusive dependence on Muslim sources is apt to produce an unbalanced view; the mind of the conquered people can only be revealed by their own writings.

Non Muslim
writings.

Unfortunately, not many non-Muslim writings of a historical nature have survived from those days; the few that we have are merely Indian counterparts of Persian court chronicles and make fulsome adulations of their hero. For many years, the *Prithviraja rasau* of Chand Bardai, thanks to Col. Tod, enjoyed respect as a piece of sober history. Recent researches are increasingly showing it to be a good specimen of early Hindi poetry but useless as a historical account. The anonymous *Prithviraja-Vijaya-Kavya*, believed to have been written during the life-time of the Chauhana prince and only a fragment of which has so far been discovered, is a more dependable work. A much more useful account is the

Hammira-Mahakavya, recounting the achievements of Hammira, the Chauhana ruler of Ranthambhor and a descendant of Prithviraja. Although written in the usual Rajput style of an eulogy, it supplements the Muslim chronicles in a number of places and helps to form a clearer picture of the vicissitudes of Muslim hold on Rajputana. The *Surjana-charita-kavya* of Chandrasekhara, a sixteenth century Bengali poet, continues the history of the Chauhana family. Although in its earlier portion it reproduces Chand's account of the Turkish contact with Rajputana, it is yet not entirely without value. Collections of folk stories like the *Rasmala* of Gujrat, sometime contain useful corroborative evidence. Of greater interest is the *Rajmala*, a continuous official chronicle of the ruling family of Tipperah the earlier phase of whose history is linked up with the 13th century Muslim rule in Bengal. The work is in Bengali verse and from medieval times is claimed to have been continued by successive generations of compilers. The Jaina writings of the 13th and 14th centuries, recently collected in the *Puratana Prabandha Samgraha* and in the *Aitihasik Jaina Kavya Samgraha*, are not without value for they contain incidental notices of political affairs, and throw a very welcome light on the culture and religious tolerance of the Muslim conquerors. An interesting composition in a corrupt form of Sanskrit, entitled *Shekasubhodaya*, has recently come to light in Bengal. Though pronounced as a sixteenth century forgery, scholars agree that it contains a kernel of genuine history relating to early Muslim contact with the province in the time of Lakshmana Sena. It professes to recount the miraculous activities of the Muslim saint, Jalaluddin Tabrezi. Many of the stories narrated have a circumstantial authenticity, for personages and

events, illustrative of contemporary manners, that are mentioned, are mostly confirmed by other evidences. There is little doubt that the work embodies, in a substantial measure, historical facts which had passed into popular tradition.

CHAPTER II

THE BACK GROUND: CENTRAL ASIA.

The century and a half that followed Mahmud's accession to the principality of Ghazni witnessed the rise and fall of two great empires. The Seljuqs, who supplanted the Ghaznawides in Central Asia¹, were, during the period under review, in their turn, undergoing a process of rapid decline facilitating the rise of new dynasties. Sanjar was the last of the imperial Seljuqs whose long reign could scarce conceal signs of the approaching end. His early triumphs over Ghazni², Samarqand³, and Ghor⁴, were followed by defeats which shook the empire to its foundation. The most crushing defeat came from the southern Turks, called *Qara-Khitai* by the Muslim writers, who had established a strong empire on the eastern bank of the Jaxartes and were making powerful inroads into Transoxiana. In 537/1137 they invaded Samarqand and obtained a decisive victory over Sanjar's vassal⁵.

Decline of Seljuq power.

¹ The beginning of Seljuq empire can be dated from 1040, the year in which they inflicted a resounding defeat on Masud I, south of the Oxus. *Guzidah*, I, p. 435.

² In 510/1116, according to Ibnul Asir, X, p. 213, Sanjar successfully intervened in favour of Bahram in his quarrel with his step-brother Arslan. On his accepting Seljuq suzerainty, the former was installed on the Ghazni throne. Bahram soon repudiated the vassalage and stopped the payment of tribute; but he was easily reduced in 530/1135. *Guzidah* I, p. 458. Juwaini gives the date as 529/1134, I p. 4.

³ Ibnul Asir, XI, p. 281-82; *Guzidah*, gives a slightly different account.

⁴ According to Fasihi, quoted by Raverty: *trans. Tab. Nas.*, p. 358, note I, even the father of Alauddin Hussain of Ghor, the "world-burner" was Sanjar's vassal. Alauddin himself was reduced in 547/1152. Minhaj seems to allude to this fact in his account of Alauddin's conflict with Sanjar. *Ibid*, p. 149 and 357-8.

⁵ Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 323.

Five years later, they again crossed the Jaxartes on the plea of aiding their Qarlugh allies who had broken in revolt against the Khan of Samarqand. The later thereupon summoned his suzerain to assistance. In the battle that followed Sanjar suffered the greatest defeat of his life and could escape only with a few followers¹. This defeat cost him the whole of Transoxiana². It produced repercussions on other parts of the empire as well. According to the *Guzidah*³, Atsiz, the vassal ruler of Khwarizm (Khiva) now declared independence and assumed royal titles; he even captured Merv, Sanjar's capital, which however, was easily recovered. The final disaster to his empire was the eruption of the Ghuzz from Balkh⁴ and his subsequent defeat and captivity at their hands in 548/1153. After four years he managed to escape but died soon⁵.

Even before his death smaller states were well on their way to independence. The western provinces of Iraq, Azarbaijan and Hamadan, under the collateral Seljuq family of the *Atabeks*, were practically cut off from Central Asian politics by their quarrel with the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad whose ambition to revive temporal power soon culminated in a bitter hostility to the Seljuqs⁶.

New states.

¹ Ibnul Asir, XI, p. 37-8. *Guzidah*, I, p. 487 and *Rawandi*, p. 172, place it in 534/1140. but Juwaini, II, p. 5, and Ibnul Asir, XI, p. 37, as well as Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 326, place it in 536/1141.

² Juwaini, p. 88.

³ I. P. 487. For the origin of the dynasty of Khwarizm, which was founded by Nushtigin, a slave of Malik Shah, see Juwaini, p. 2; *Guzidah* I, p. 486; Minhaj, pp. 234-5, however, gives an entirely different account. For the name Khwarizm and its capital Gurganj (modern Kunya Urgendg) see the article on Khwarizm in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

⁴ The Ghuzz belonged to the Turkish stock and had only recently began to accept Islam. See *Ency. Isl.*, article on *Ghuzz*.

⁵ For details see Bartold: *Turkistan*, p. 329ff.

⁶ The beginning of this quarrel may be traced to the early years of Sanjar's reign when Masud I, the Seljuq ruler of Iraq (1184-1152) deposed the reigning Caliph and appointed his own nominee. See Ibnul Asir, K, pp. 270-272 for details.

Sanjar's successor was forced to accept Ghuzz vassalage and was practically a prisoner in their hands. He obtained his freedom in 557/1162 only to die a prisoner in the hands of Muayyid, a former slave of Sanjar and at that time the self-appointed ruler of the greater part of Khurasan¹.

Of supreme importance for the history of Central Asia at this period was the rise of Khwarizm and Ghor and their eventual struggle for the mastery of

Khurasan. Atsiz, the real founder of
Khwarizm.

Khwarizm's greatness, was originally a loyal vassal of Sanjar untill jealousy of the latter's courtiers drove him to open revolt in 533/1138. Sanjar, however, easily defeated him and to his office appointed his nephew Sulaiman². As soon as Sanjar's back was turned, Atsiz advanced and drove Sulaiman out of Khwarizm. Reference has already been made to his assertion of sovereignty in 1141 when Sanjar's defeat by the *Qara-Khitais* foreshadowed the end of Saljuq power³. Their predominance, however, affected Atsiz's position also; for his own territories were also overrun on this occasion and he was forced to pay an annual tribute of thirty thousand gold *dinars*,—an obligation which he is said to have scrupulously fulfilled for the rest of his life⁴. His second defeat by Sanjar in 538/1143, following his capture of Merv referred to above, failed to rid him of ambition; for although he was pardoned and reinstated⁵, he revolted

¹ Juwaini, ii, p. 16; *Guzidah*, i, p. 463. According to Ibnul Asir, xi, p. 101, he was originally Sanjar's slave, but Bartold: *op. cit.* p. 835, asserts that he was the leader of the Ghuzz.

² Ibnul Asir, xi, p. 168. Juwaini, *idem*, places the event in 565/1169, but

³ Ibnul Asir, xi, p. 87, states that Atsiz even concluded a friendly alliance with the *Qara-Khitais* against his suzerain; but Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 327, is inclined to doubt it.

⁴ Juwaini, ii, p. 88, *Guzidah*, i, p. 489.

⁵ Juwaini, *op. cit.* p. 7.

almost immediately after, and slew Sanjar's agent. He even planned to assassinate his overlord. For the third time Sanjar marched to Khwarizm in 542/1147 and once again pardoned the vanquished rebel¹. During Sanjar's captivity at the Ghuzz camp, Atsiz invaded Khurasan on the pretext of freeing his sovereign but had to retire without effecting his real object. During the last few years of his life he desisted from open revolt but continued surreptitiously to extend his dominions. Before his death in 551/1156 he had thus annexed Jand and Mankislagh and had imposed something like suzerainty over the Khan of Samarqand². In Khurasan, however, Ghuzz predominance impeded his progress and favoured the rise of Muayyid who, pretending to champion the Seljuq cause, succeeded in establishing his hold on Neshapur, Tus and the adjacent districts. The Ghuzz held Merv, Sarakhs and Balkh³, while Herat was under the possession of Aetigin, a former vassal of the Seljuqs and now a Ghuzz protégé.

Il-Arslan, the successor of Atsiz, followed his father's imperialist policy with steadfast resolution. He obtained Sanjar's approval to his accession and was also recognised by Ghiyasuddin, the Seljuq Atabek of Iraq. Soon he managed to establish his suzerainty over the Ghuzz chief of Gurgan and Dihistan, and when in 558/1162, the chief was found making common cause with Muayyid with whom he had lately fought an indecisive battle, made it a pretext to annex

¹ *Ibid*, p. 7.

² Juwani, II, p. 10. For these periodical conflicts in which the help of the Qara-Khitai and the Seljuq or the Khwarizm Shah was invariably sought by the two contending parties, see Bartold; *op. cit.* p. 883ff.

³ Ibnul Asir: XI, p. 131.

the latter district¹. In order to extend his influence over Transoxiana Il-Arslan, in 553/1116 readily agreed to intervene in the quarrel which again broke out between the Qarluks and the Khan of Samarqand. The result, however, did not prove happy for him ; for although the dispute ended peacefully, his siding with the Khan of Samarqand, led to an eventual rupture with his father's *Qara-Khitai* suzerain. By his refusal to continue the annual tribute, he even provoked them to invade his territories in 567/1172. In the engagement that followed the Khwarizm army was decisively beaten². This was a forcible reminder that no empire-building was possible in Central Asia until this infidel power was finally crushed ; henceforth Khwarizm directed her policy to that end. Il-Arslan died early next year.

In Khurasan the Khwarizm Shah failed to make much headway ; the Ghuzz and, lately, the *Qara-Khitai*, arrested his efforts. His preoccupations, however, provided an opportunity to the rulers of the petty principality of Ghor to extend their power quietly at the cost of the warleaders holding the province. From their insignificant position as the chiefs of the mountain fortress of Ghor, they came into prominence during the reign of the Ghaznawide Bahram, who perfidiously murdered Malik Qutbuddin Hasan, a Ghuride prince who had taken refuge at his court and been married to one of Bahram's daughters. This roused the wrath of Saifuddin Suri, brother of the murdered prince, who thereupon invaded Ghazni and drove Bahram from the

¹ Juwaini, II, p. 16.

² Ibnul Asir, XI, p. 168, Juwaini, *idem*, places the event in 565/1169, but Bartold upholds the above date.

city. He soon returned in 543/1148 and, taking advantage of the absence of the Ghoride troops, sent home for the winter, siezed Saifuddin and sent his head to Sanjar¹. Alauddin Hussain, Saifuddin's younger brother, then advanced on Ghazni and wreaked a terrible vengeance ; after plundering the city he set fire to the buildings, which were left burning for seven days, and massacred the whole population². This action which earned him the unenviable nickname of '*Jahan Soz*' (the world-burner), combined with his refusal to pay the stipulated tribute due from Bahram, enraged Sanjar whom he had already provoked by unwarrantedly capturing Herat and Balkh³ during his preoccupation with Atsiz's rebellion. His consequent defeat and imprisonment has already been

¹ *Guzidah* i, p. 460; *Rawandi*: p. 175.

² Minhaj: p. 55ff. It is not certain who was the antagonist of Alauddin at Ghazni, for the accounts are not unanimous as to the date of Bahram's death and the accession of his son Khusrau. Minhaj, pp. 24-5, states that Bahram was driven out of Ghazni by Alauddin, and places his death in 552/1156. An anecdote on p. 115, however, implies that it was Khusrau who opposed Alauddin. *Guzidah*, i, p. 406, and Ibnul Asir, xi, p. 85, date Bahram's death in 544/1149 and 548/1153, respectively. *Baisawi*, f. 51a, states that Bahram died before Alauddin's march on Ghazni, which must have occurred soon after 544, the year on which Saifuddin's head was sent to Sanjar. Ibnul Asir, xi, p. 74, places Alauddin's sack of Ghazni after his defeat by Sanjar in 547, which seems improbable. He further states that Alauddin placed his brother Saifuddin on the throne of Ghazni and on Bahram subsequently murdering the latter, once again marched to sack the city. But Bahram had died in the meantime and his successor Khusrau had fled to the Punjab. *Guzidah* supports this but confuses Khusrau with his son Khusrau Malik, last of the Ghaznawides. According to Minhaj, Khusrau left Ghazni only on the approach of the Ghuzz who then occupied it for 10 years. The dates 552/1157 and 555/1160 for the accessions of Khusrau and his son, Khusrau Malik, quoted by Raverty: *op. cit.*, p. 114, note—from their suppositions coins described in a manuscript entitled *Tafsil-i-sikkah*, do not prove anything, since the legends given therein are fictitious and the work was admittedly compiled late in the 18th century.

³ Ibnul Asir, xi, pp. 66 and 74. *Rawandi*, p. 176, and *Guzidah*, i, p. 460, add that Alauddin also entered into an alliance with Ali Chatri, Sanjar's rebellious Governor of Herat, who was, however, executed at the time of Alauddin's defeat. See Minhaj (tr. p. 287) for an ambiguous allusion to this fact.

aluded to¹. His wit and refined intelligence, however, impressed his captor who restored him to his principality. Taking advantage of Sanjar's subsequent captivity, Alauddin later conquered Bamian, Tukharistan, the districts of Jarum and Bust, and reduced Gharjistan in the valley of the Murghab river ; he even made an inroad into Khurasan by capturing Tulak near Herat². His conquests in Balkh and Tukharistan, however, were soon lost to the Ghuzz while one of their allies, Aetigin, possessed himself of Herat. The 'world-burner' died in 1161³, and was succeeded by another of his brothers named Saifuddin who recovered and successfully defended a part of Herat against Muayyid's attack⁴. Following his death in an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge the Ghuzz from Balkh, Ghazni was also lost to them who occupied the city for twelve years⁵. Ghiyasuddin, succeeding to his cousin's throne in Ghor, however, resumed the struggle and is stated to have liberated Garmsir and Zamin Dawar⁶. The waning power of the Ghuzz enabled him to annex Faras, Kaliyun, Garjistan, Baghshor and Talqan and finally, in 568/1173-4, to recover Ghazni⁷. Sijistan also acknowledged his away and, four years later, Herat was delivered by the citizens who opposed the pro-Ghuzz policy of its

¹ *Supra* p. 20. See also Nizami Uruzi: *Chahar Maqala*, p. 29, for an eyewitness account of the event.

² Minhaj, p. 62ff.

³ Ibnul Asir: xi, p. 121. *Guzidah*, i, p. 408, and *Baizawi*, 68b, however respectively, date the event in 551/1156 and 558/1163. Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 363, note, also supports *Guzidah*, but in view of the fact that Nizami Uruzi dedicated his *Chahar Maqala*, finished, according to Browne, in 1156/7, to Alauddin, who is referred to as living, Ibnul Asir's date must be regarded as correct. Browne: translation of *Chahar Maqala*, p. 37.

⁴ Ibnul Asir: p. 126.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶ *Fasih*, quoted by Raverty *op. cit.* p. 374, note 3; Minhaj, p. 71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72 ff.

ruler.¹ The Ghuzz chief of Kirman eventually accepted his vassalage; Balkh, and parts of Khurasan, adjacent to Herat, were thus gradually annexed to his growing empire.

This advance into Khurasan brought the Ghoridas into open rivalry with the Khwarizm Shah. Il-Arslan's death was followed by a civil war between his two sons, Takash and Sultan Shah, in which the former, by agreeing to pay an annual tribute, obtained help from the *Qara-Khitai* in expelling his brother. Sultan Shah took refuge with Muayyid who soon lost his life fighting for him with Takash.

Beginning of
Ghoride hostility
to Khwarizm.

Sultan then fled to Dihistan and eventually to Ghor.² His ambition thus introduced a new factor into the complex political situation of Khurasan. Takash soon quarrelled with his *Qara-Khitai* suzerains with whom Sultan now found it expedient to enter into alliance³. With their help he succeeded in wresting Merv, Sarakhs and Tus from the Ghuzz chieftain, Malik Dinar, and also in dislodging Tughan Shah, Muayyid's successor, from Neshapur. The latter then accepted vassalage under Takash who allowed him to hold Nessa till his death⁴. Following Takash's capture of Neshapur in 583/1187, the two brothers entered into an agreement by which Sultan was permitted to retain sovereignty over Merv, Sarakhs and a few other towns⁵. His ambition however, gave him no rest and led him to open conflict even with his erstwhile Ghoride friends. Allying himself

¹ Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 192, Minhaj, p. 73; Ibnul Asir: xi, p. 77.

² Juwaini, ii, pp. 17-19; Raverty: *op. cit.* pp. 245 and 378.

³ Ibnul Asir: xi, p. 169; Juwaini, ii, p. 19f.

⁴ Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 340. Juwaini, ii, p. 22, adds that he vainly appealed to the Ghorides for help against Sultan.

⁵ Juwaini, ii, pp. 24-25.

with Tughril, an adventurer who siezed and for a brief period, held sway over Herat, Sultan now "invested Fushanj and made raids upon the territories of Ghor and created tumult and disorder"¹.

The Ghorides found their ambition thwarted for Khwarizm reimposed her domination in Khurasan; Sultan only aggravated a situation in which a recourse to arms seemed unavoidable. Owing to their preoccupations with the Ghaznawides at the moment and Ghiyasuddin's brother, Muizzuddin's projected Indian expedition, the Ghorides, however, could hardly open hostilities and sought to negotiate with Takash regarding matters in Khurasan; Ghiyasuddin was even anxious to obtain the latter's help against Sultan Shah, and in a letter dated in 1183 he offered armed assistance in return². Minhaj speaks even of a treaty of alliance between the two sovereigns³, and makes some reference to, possibly, a resultant, Ghoride conflict with the *Qara-Khitai* the termination of whose unwelcome suzerainty the Khwarizm Shah desired by all means. After Takash's above-mentioned agreement with his brother, the alliance, directed against Sultan, naturally became inoperative; the Ghorides were thus left to deal single handed with Sultan. When they were in a position to move against him in 586/1190-91⁴, they had, however, a freer hand, for the Ghaznawide enemy had been entirely eliminated. Both Sultan, and his ally, Tughril of Herat, were easily defeated, and Herat most probably annexed

¹ Minhaj. p. 73-4.

² Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 340-42.

³ Minhaj; p. 329. Raverty, *op. cit.* pp. 243, 245 and 382.

⁴ Ibnul Asir: xii, p. 28. Juwaini, ii, p. 28, places some events which happened subsequently, in 586/1190. Minhaj p. 74, dates these in 588/1192 but in this year Muizzuddin could not have been present in this battle as he is reported to have been, since in that year he was engaged in preparations for his second expedition against Prithviraja.

Ghor¹. Sultan died next year but his possessions were at once occupied by Takash².

Inspite of his victory over Sultan, Ghiyasuddin was thus unable to extend his dominions, for Takash controlled the whole of Khurasan. In 578/1182, he sent an expedition to Bukhara to consolidate his

possessions in Transoxania; he also reduced the turbulent tribes of

The Caliph, a disturbing factor. Qipchaq on the northern boundary of his empire. On the west he successfully intervened in the last Seljuq, Tughril's conflict with his rebellious vassal, the Atabek Inanaj and in the battle that followed the Atabek's head was sent as a present to the Caliph at Baghdad'. He thus became the virtual successor to the Seljuq emperors. But with their empire he also inherited their traditional enmity to the Caliph. This had the most disastrous consequence not only for his empire but also for the whole of Muslim Asia. It converted the political situation into a triangular conflict which facilitated the easy advance of the Mongols a few years later. For the time being, Takash's advance into Iraq offered a prospect to the Caliph of realising his ambitions of temporal power, so long thwarted by the Seljuqs. But his hopes were frustrated when Takash paid scanty respect to his *Wazir* and did not show any inclination to share the sovereignty of Iraq with him⁴. As a result, the Caliph became

¹ Ibnul Asir: xii, p. 64, also mentions the fact that in 594, Takash besieged Herat which would show that the city was not included in his empire. See also Minhaj, p. 329.

² Juwaini, ii, p. 80.

³ Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 341. For the details of Tughril's conflict with the Atabeks, see Rawandi: pp. 435-441; Ibnul Asir, xii, pp. 12-44-50; *Gusidah*, i, pp. 475-6.

⁴ The Caliph Nasir-le-dinellah, in support of the Atabek against Tughril, sent along with Inanaj's letter, a similar invitation to Takash to intervene in the quarrel. Ibnul Asir: xii, p. 45; Bartold: *Turkestan*, 346-7; Juwaini, ii, p. 38.

bitterly hostile and henceforth devoted himself exclusively to fomenting enmity against the Khwarizm Shah. Minhaj records the arrival at Ghor of emissaries from Baghdad urging Ghiyasuddin to make immediate war on Takash¹.

In spite of their ambition, the Ghorides were however, not strong enough to comply immediately with the request. But on Takash's death in 596/1200, they at once took advantage of a civil war that broke out between his son and grand son, Alauddin and Hindu Khan. Ghoride troops entered Khurasan and captured Neshapur, Merv, Sarakhs and Tus early next year², Territories as far as Jurjan and Bistam were brought under their sway; Kohistan, the stronghold of the *Mulahidah* heretics was plundered, and the whole of Khurasan for the first time was occupied by the Ghorides.

Their triumph was however short-lived, for Alauddin, who ultimately succeeded to Takash's throne, proved to be of the same metal as his father. He soon recovered Neshapur and other Ghoride conquests; even Herat capitulated to him in 598/1201³. In spite of his easy success Alauddin appears to have been anxious for peace with Ghorides, in order to deal finally with his hated *Qara-khitai* suzerain⁴. But they gave him no rest. Impatient to recover Khurasan, they

War between
Ghor and
Khwarizm.

¹ Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 243. A similar letter from the Caliph urging him even to enter into an alliance with the 'infidel' *Qara-khitais* against Takash, was discovered at Ghazni, in 1215; Juwaini, ii, p. 86. See also Ibnul Asir, xii, pp. 51 sq.

² Juwaini, ii, p. 48-49.

³ Ibnul Asir, xii, p. 81-82.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 75, refers to a request made by Alauddin for the conclusion of an agreement with Ghor even on condition of his vassalage. Ibnul Asir, *idem*, also refers to a similar request made by the Khwarizm Shah in 598/1201.

opened the attack and after obtaining a victory near the Merv-ar-rud, besieged Tus and Sarakhs. Herat easily fell before them Alauddin however, taking advantage of Muizzuddin's brief absence from Herat on the occasion of his brother, Ghiyasuddin's death in 599/1202, defeated the Ghoride troops under Kharnak besieging Merv, and relieved the city¹. The long standing rivalry between the two dynasties thus came to a head and a decisive conflict could no longer be postponed.

With a view to striking a final blow, Muizzuddin accordingly advanced to besiege Gurganj, Alauddin's capital. The latter then hastily returned and was Ghoride defeat compelled to appeal for help to his at Andhkhud. *Qara-khitai* suzerains². This turned the table and Muizzuddin, on the news of the letter's approach had to beat a hasty retreat. The *Qara-khitais* pursued and on the banks of the Oxus signally defeated his forces and on his escaping with the remnant of his beaten army, was surrounded at Andhkhud in 601/1204³. It was only through the intercession of Takash's vassal, Usman, the Khan of Samarqand, that he was able to obtain a safe retreat to his capital. Thus beaten most decisively, Muizzuddin could hardly refuse to conclude a defensive alliance with his former enemy Alauddin⁴. Of their late conquest Alauddin allowed the Ghorides to retain possession only of Herat and Balkh.

The Khwarizm Shah thus clearly beat his rival not only in war but also in diplomacy. In vain he had

¹ Minhaj, p. 77.

² Juwaini, ii, p. 55. *Guridah*, i, p. 411, adds that he also summoned to his assistance his vassal, the Khan of Samarqand on this occasion.

³ Minhaj, p. 123; Ibnul Asir, xii, p. 86.

⁴ Juwaini, ii, p. 58. *Guridah*, i, p. 412.

sought Ghoride assistance against the *Qara-khitis*; all he had achieved was merely to increase the ambition of the opportunist Muizzuddin. In compelling the latter to make peace and even enter into an alliance with him, he now used the same enemy whose destruction was his ultimate aim. But neither the Ghorides nor the *Qara-khitis* realised the significance of Alauddin's policy. His ignominious defeat hung heavily on Muizzuddin's mind and the destruction of the infidel power became his immediate objective¹. "Vainly did the Caliph of Baghdad entreat him to finish with the Khwarizm Shah first and even to conclude an alliance with the *Qara-khitis* for the purpose²." Hostilities were commenced with the latter by Muizzuddin's governor of Balkh who captured Tirmiz³. Before he could follow this up by a full scale invasion of their territory in Transoxiana, the rising in the Punjab, however compelled Muizzuddin to make a hasty expedition thither in order to "put the affairs of the treasury and armory in order⁴." On his way back he despatched orders to the ruler of Bamian to prepare for the ensuing campaign and to arrange for the building of a bridge over the Oxus. From Lahore he granted leave to his troops to return to their homes for a short while after which they were to assemble for the campaign which he proposed to carry on for three years⁵.

This, he was never able to commence, for he died before he could reach his capital. With him died his empire across the Hindu Kush. Within a few years

¹ Minhaj, p. 121; Juwaini, p. 58.

² Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 352.

³ Ibnul Asir, xii, p. 96.

⁴ Juwaini, ii, p. 58.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 123.

Mahmud, his nephew and successor at Ghor, was compelled to acknowledge the Khwarizm Shah's suzerainty; after his death the Shansabani kingdom was practically

End of Ghor's
Central Asian
empire.

absorbed within the Khwarizmi empire. The dissolution of Ghor was complete when in 612/1215 Yalduz, Muizzuddin's viceroy, was driven out and Ghazni was attached to the appanage of Alauddin's crown prince, Jalaluddin. In his scheme of empire-building, Muizzuddin's Indian conquests appeared to have a secondary importance. And yet they survived the destruction of his own principality. Had not the Khwarizmi empire gone down before the Mongols, the infant state of Delhi would probably have met with a similar fate.

NORTH INDIA

The beginning of Turkish ascendancy over the Islamic world was almost contemporaneous with the emergence of a new fighting order in Indian society. The Arab

The Rajput.

had to fight a Brahmin dynasty in Sind; the Turk faced the Rajput. Resulting from foreign invasions and colonizations, in India great social transformations had been in progress from the beginning of the Christian era. The passing of Harsha's empire towards the end of the 7th century and with it, of ancient traditions and social ties, saw a new aristocracy taking gradual shape. This was the Rajput who, for the next few centuries championed a resuscitated Brahmanism and controlled the destiny of North India. He claimed to have a purely Indian origin, a twice-born *Dwija*, sprung from the sacrificial fire at Mt. Abu, and to represent the solar dynasty. Scholars agree in giving him a mixed origin, with a large proportion of foreign

blood, who eventually found a place in Hindu society but with a distinctive name. He practically replaced the old fighting class, the *Kshatriya*, and in so doing, inaugurated an age of romantic militarism, chivalry and of ballads. He had points of resemblance with the Turk. To both, the sword was the means of achieving glory; philosophical speculation held no attraction for either of them; clannishness and a blind loyalty characterised the two peoples. A kind of feudalism featured both the political systems. But the Rajput excelled the Turk in reckless bravery and a chivalric sense of honour that led him to commit self-destruction rather than suffer defeat or go down in his own estimation.

The Arabs had faced an effete people in Sind. To the Turk was opposed this virile warrior race who ruled the country from the Siwalikh to the Vindhya. But the Rajput thirst for military glory proved his nemesis, for it led to constant wars and to political disintegration. The Gurjara-Pratihara empire¹ had given way to a multi-state system in which a ceaseless struggle for lord-paramountcy was the order of the day. The militant Muslims occupying Sind and the Punjab increased the forces of disunity. Twelfth century was, indeed, a tempting prize for the land-hungry Turks.

It would be convenient to make a rapid political survey of the North Indian states under dynastic groupings.

Muslim States of Punjab and Sind.

Ever since the days of Mahmud, Punjab had remained an integral part of the Ghaznawide empire. Masud

¹ For an account of the dynasty's achievements see Majumdar: *The Gurjara-Pratihara Empire*.

found there a safe refuge from the Seljuqs. We have seen how Bahram and finally his son Khusrau were driven out of Ghazni to rule their Indian province. The last-named was succeeded by Khusrau Malik at Lahore, but, in the language of the chronicler, "abandoned himself wholly to pleasure while the servants of state and governors of the country exercised independent power¹.

The extent of his kingdom cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. It probably included Peshawar to which Muizzuddin led his first attack on the Ghaznawide possessions in India. Mahmud had wrested Multan from the *Qaramitah* sect of the Shiite Muslims but with the reassertion of the latter's power a few years after his death, it fell off from the Punjab province². Sialkot appears as the boundary towards the state of Jammu which, according to a late chronicle, was hostile to Khusrau Malik³. The Ghaznawide frontier, however, was far from stable, for the Rajputs steadily pushed it back. An inscription of the Chauhana prince Prithviraja I records his conquest of Asi (Hansi) and its conversion into a fortified outpost against the Muslims, in V.S. 1224/1167 A.D.⁴ That this pressure must have continued is proved by the fact that Bhatinda (written Tabarhinda), situated further north, appears a

¹ Minhaj, p. 26.

² *Adabul Harb*; f. 76a.

³ *Raj Darashani*, I. O. 507, f. 45. The Raja of Jammu is named Chakra Deo and is said to have invited and helped Muizzuddin against Khusrau. The account, inspite of its doubtful authenticity is accepted unreservedly in the *CHI*, iii, p. 39. Raverty quotes extensively from it. The hostility of the alleged ruler of Jammu with Khusrau, however, might have had some connection with the aggressions of the "Mlecchas from the upper Indus valley" in 1144 and of the "Javana Turushkas" between 1150-55, as mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles; *Rajatarangini*, ii, p. 217; see also introduction, p. 128; *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, cited in Roy, H.C.: *Dynastic history of Northern India*, i, pp. 172-3.

⁴ *IA*, xli, p. 17-8; see also Tod: *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 135. Thomas: *Chronicles*, p. 60.

few years later, in the possession of Prithviraja II from whom Muizzuddin was to capture it in 1191.

Faced with the prospect of a long war with the Khwarizm Shah, the Shansabanis found it necessary to eliminate the enemy finally from the rear. The thrust through Sind proving a failure, Muizzuddin directed his attention to the northern entrance and occupied Peshawar in 575/1179¹. Two years later he advanced against Lahore. Khusrau could buy his safety only by offering costly presents and furnishing his son as a hostage. In 581/1185 Muizzuddin again invaded the Punjab but contented himself in plundering the countryside and occupying the fortress of Sialkot, which was repaired and garisoned. Sensing the enemy's ultimate design, Khusrau at last exerted himself, and with the help of the Khokar² tribes besieged the fortress but had to retire unsuccessful. Next year, Muizzuddin returned to the attack and laid siege to Lahore. Unable to take it by force, he resorted to diplomacy and by assurances of safety persuaded Khusrau to visit his camp. There, he was treacherously siezed and sent to the castle of Balarwan in Gharjistan to be kept in perpetual confinement. He was put to death in 588/1192³.

The *Qaramitah* of Multan held the greater part of Upper Sind. The history of Uch, however, is far from

¹ Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 452, note 8, doubts whether the word *Furshor*, as written in Minhaj, p. 116, really refers to Peshawar, which according to him, was called Bagram in those days. Ibnul Asir, xi, pp. 75-6, however, removes the doubt by referring to it as *Furshawar* which according to Raverty, was the same as Peshawar. Minhaj also uses the term on another occasion; p. 9.

² Minhaj, p. 117. The *Raj Darashani*, f, 45b, states that the Khokars were originally subjects of Jammu but had withheld the payment of taxes and allied themselves with Khusrau. Upon this the Raja invited Muizzuddin and it was on his suggestion that Sialkot was garrisoned.

³ Minhaj gives no less than three dates for the event: p. 27, 598; p. 118, 587; p. 74, 588.

clear. Later writers like Yahya Sirhindi, Ferishta and others, probably on the authority of Ibnul Asir, state that it was held by the Bhatti Rajputs¹. The annals of the Bhattis, however, do not make the slightest reference to their ever having held Uch². A likelier suggestion is that it was held by the *Qaramitah*; Muizzuddin in any case captured both Uch and Multan in one operation in 571/1175³.

Lower Sind, with its capital at Debal, was under a local dynasty. Mahmud's conquests in those parts were anything but complete. Not long after his death, a local tribe called Sumra, recovered control over the district and became independent. The origin of the tribe is uncertain. Ibn Battuta had heard they were of Arab descent⁴. He is supported by the *Tuhfatul Kiram*⁵, but controverted by Ferishta, Tahir Nisyanî and Abul Fazal who assert that they were a local Indian tribe converted to Islam at an early date⁶. Elliot and Tod

¹ *TM* p. 6, Ferishta, p. 56. *TA*, I, p. 37. The story of Muizzuddin's intrigue with the queen of the Bhatti raja of Uch who, in the hope of marrying her daughter to the Ghoride chief, poisoned her husband and then allowed the fort to be occupied, is first related by Ibnul Asir, XI, p. 77; but the author himself admits, on p. 79, that his account regarding India is based on hearsay and is unconfirmed. And yet this admittedly tainted account is unreservedly accepted in *CHI*, III, p. 38. For an obviously legendary account of the early Muslim occupation of Uch see, *IGI*, XXIV, p. 82.

² See Tod: *Annals*, II, pp. 1190-1205, where the progress of the Bhattis from the Punjab to Jaisalmer in the end of the XII century is recounted. Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmer, is said to have sought and obtained the assistance of the king of Ghor in occupying Lodorva, the ancient capital, 10 miles N. W. of Jaisalmer. He is also said to have acknowledged the latter's suzerainty whose troops thereafter left for Bhakar in Lower Sind. The story may have some obscure reference to actual facts but does not confirm Ibnul Asir's account. See also Erskine: *Rajputana Gazetteer*, p. 11.

³ Minhaj, p. 127, speaks of the holy war against the *Qaramitah* of Multan and Uch; see also *TM*, p. 5-6. Ferishta, I, p. 56, dates the event in 572/1176.

⁴ *Kutub-Rahlah*, II, p. 5.

⁵ Add. 21589 f. 263b.

⁶ Ferishta, II, p. 314; *Tarikh-i-Tahvi*, f. 14b; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett

regarded them as of Rajput stock, a branch of the Paramaras¹. Their rise to power, according to Mir Masum², occurred towards the end of Abdur Rashid Ghaznawide's reign whose weakness prompted them to establish their sovereignty near the town of Thari. The *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, however, places the beginning of their independence about 700/1302³. This is near enough to the statement of the *Tuhfatul-Kiram* that they rose to power in the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq⁴. This, however, should in reality, refer to the Sumras who, it is certain, supplanted the earlier dynasty and were in possession of Lower Sind when Firoz Tughluq, in 762/1362, opened his attack against the Jam of Thatta. Elliot found evidence dating from 1032 of a Sumra prince (Rai) of Sind receiving communications of a religious import from the *Qaramitah* leader of the Druzes who were staunch supporters of the Fatimide Caliphs⁵. Their acceptance of the Shiite faith and a resulting intimacy with the *Qaramitah* of Multan would thus appear to be long-standing. In the list of the Sumra rulers found in the *Tuhfatul-Kiram*, the eleventh, named Chanisar (or Chatisar) is clearly to be identified with Sinanuddin Chanisar, the ruler of Debal who submitted to Iltutmish in 1228⁶. According to Juwaini, he fled from his capital when the Khwarizmi prince Jalaluddin Mangbarni passed through Lower Sind on his way to Iraq⁷. When Muizzuddin captured Debal "as far as the sea" in 578/1182⁸, he must have only

and Blochmann, ii, p. 341, 345.

¹ Elliot, i, pp. 448-9; *Annals*, iii, pp. 1281-83 and 1299.

² *Tarikh-i-Masumi*; f. 51a.

³ *Op. cit.* f. 12a.

⁴ *Op. cit.* f. 263b.

⁵ Elliot i, p. 491.

⁶ Quoted by Raverty, *op. cit.* p. 614; note; Minhaj, p. 173.

⁷ ii, p. 147.

⁸ Minhaj, p. 117.

compelled the Sumra ruler to acknowledge his suzerainty.

The Western Rajputs

Three powerful dynasties ruled the land from Delhi to Gujrat including Rajputana. Of these the Chalukya dynasty of Anhilwara (Anahillapattan) attained the zenith of its power in the reign of The Chalukyas, Jayasinha Siddharaja, (1902-1143), who after prolonged warfare annexed a considerable portion of the Paramara kingdom of Malwa¹. He also conquered the principality of Chitor. Following the defeat of Jasovarman (1133-1143), the Paramaras practically became Chalukya feudatories. Not until the weak reign of the Chalukya, Mularaja II, (1176-1178) were the Paramaras, under Vindhya-varman, able to reassert their independence². Branches of the Paramaras, ruling in the country round Mt. Abu, also reduced to subjection, however, continued in their vassalage until 1179 when those ruling at Bagar were supplanted by the Guhelots of Mewar³. The Chauhana principality of Nadol also submitted to the Chalukyas⁴. Jayasinha also reduced the Jadava principality of Girnar, in Kathiawar peninsula⁵.

Their power soon brought them into hostility with other ambitious dynasties. Jayasinha fought an indici-sive battle with the Chandellas of The Chauhanas, Bundelkhand⁶. His most powerful rival was the Chauhana king of Ajmer. This dynasty,

¹ Ojha: *Rajputana* pp. 196 and 217.

² *Ibid.* p. 199; *JAOS*, VII, p. 82-3.

³ Ojha: *op. cit.* p. 208; Bagar, according to Ray: *Dynastic History*, II, p. 1182, is to be identified with the modern state of Durgarpur.

⁴ Ojha; *op. cit.* p. 216.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁶ Ray: *Dynastic History*, II, p. 971.

founded by Samanta, received considerable extension of territory under Ajaipal who founded Ajmer in the eleventh century. His descendant, Arnoraja (c.1153-1164) was for a short period compelled to acknowledge Chalukya suzerainty, but soon obtained his independence. One of the Chauhana branches occupied Nadol, and about the year V.S. 1200/1143 A.D., supplanted the Pariharas of Mandor'. Branches from this family founded the ruling houses of Kotah, Jalor, Sirohi and Bundi².

The two paramount dynasties of Rajputana with their insatiable ambition for power, could thus hardly live in peace. Between 1140 and 1150, Siddharaja's successor, Kumarapala (1143-1173)

Decline of the
Chalukyas.

twice defeated Arnoraja of Ajmer³

For a second time the Chauhanas became vassals of Gujrat and Someswara, son and successor of Arnoraja, fought under Kumarapala's banners in the latter's war with the Silaharas of Konkan⁴. With his death, however, Chalukya power declined. The next ruler, Ajaipal suffered defeat from the petty Guhelot chieftain, Samanta Sinha of Chitor who, from a later inscription, appears to have expelled the Chalukyas from Mewar even in the life time of Kumarapala⁵. The Paramaras of Malwa also asserted independence and even invaded Gujrat⁶. Only the Paramaras of Chandravati, remained faithful to the Chalukyas even upto 1230⁷; the rest of

¹ Inscription of Sahajapala, dated V.S. 1202/1145 A.D.; *ASR*, 1909-10, p. 102-3.

² Erskine: *Rajputana Gazetteer*, p. 236-7; *EI*, IX p. 72.

³ Ojha: *op. cit.* p. 218.

⁴ *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, I, p. 399. From inscriptions found in Udaipur, Kumarapala appears to have conquered Mewar also; *EI*, II, p. 421.

⁵ *EI*, VIII, p. 216; *IA*, LIII, pp. 100-102.

⁶ *JASB*, 1836, p. 278-9; Ojha: *op. cit.* p. 200.

⁷ *Vienna Oriental Journal*, XXI: "The Chirwa inscription"; *IA* 1928, p. 82.

western and southern Rajputana became independent. The next two rulers of Gujrat, Mularaja II and Bhima depended entirely on the support of their Paramara vassal and on the Baghela chief Lavana-prasada, whose son Viradhavala ultimately supplanted the dynasty.

With the decline of the Chalukyas, the Paramaras of Malwa and the Chauhanas of Ajmer rose to eminence. The former were not destined to retain power for long, for their success over the Chalukyas and the Guhelots was followed by a series of defeats which brought about a complete collapse. The Chauhanas on the other hand, rapidly swallowed up North-eastern Rajputana. Visalaraja of Ajmer was a mighty conqueror and by 1150 captured Delhi from the Tomaras'. In his inscription he boasts of his having conquered and subjugated the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains including "Baikuntha and Jabali-

Extension of pura². His capture of Hansi from Chauhana power. the Ghaznawides has already been mentioned. After the short and uneventful reigns of his son Amaragangeya and that of his cousin Prithviraja I, the throne devolved on his younger brother Someswara. He ruled from 1170 to 1179 and was succeeded by his son, the famous Prithviraja II, or Rai Pithora of the Muslim writers. Much of his alleged prowess and conquests, recounted in the *Prithviraja Rasau* of Chand Bardai have been disproved by modern research³. The only undoubted evidence of his military exploits is an inscription in the Lalitpur district of

¹ *JASB*, 1886, pp. 41-43; Ojha: *op. cit.* p. 234.

² *IA*, 1890, pp. 215-217.

³ See *Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893, p. 93-94; Cunningham, *Coins of medieval India*, p. 83; *JASB*, 1886, p. 5; *IA*, 1890, pp. 6-9, cf. Smith: *Early History of India* p. 402, note 2, who tries to explain the obvious impossibilities contained in the ballad.

Bundelkhand, dated 1118, recording his conquest of Mahoba from Paramardi, the Chandella Prithviraja, Chand Bardai's hero, king of Kalinjar¹. It is needless to refer to his war with the Paramaras of Abu, the Chalukyas of Gujrat or the Gahdvalas of Kanouj—the latter following his abduction of Jaichand's (Jayachandra) daughter—for these rest on no better authority than the legendary and unreliable *Rasau*². He was undoubtedly a vigorous king though his claim to lord-paramountcy of North India requires substantiation. His relation with the neighbouring kings could hardly have been cordial which explains his single-handed resistance to the Muslim invader. We have no means of ascertaining the names of the feudatory princes who are said to have fought in his side against Muizzuddin³. It is probable that Govindarai (written Khandirai by the Muslim chronicler), and described as the Rai of Delhi, was his vassal and belonged to the Tomara dynasty.

The Eastern Rajputs

These consisted of the Gahdvalas of Kanouj, the Chandellas of Kalinjar and the Kalachuris of Chedi. The Gahdvala principality was founded towards the end of the eleventh century by Chandra Deva⁴. The Chandellas established their power at the expense of

¹ Cunningham: *Reports*, XXI, p. 173-4; another inscription at Visalpur, Jaipur State, mentions his name and is dated V.S. 1244/1187; *Ibid*, VI, p. 156. Another at Udaipur is noticed in *ASR*, Western Circle, 1906, p. 62.

² The *Prithviraja-Vijaya-kavya*, makes no reference to these events, see, *JKAS*, 1913, p. 26; *IA*, 1879, p. 25; Ojha: *op. cit.* p. 277-8.

³ Minhaj, p. 118.

⁴ His earliest known inscription is dated V. S. 1148/1090; *EI*, IX, p. 304. His rise to power and conquests are described in the inscription of Govindachandra; *IA*, 1885, p. 102-3.

the declining Gurjara-Pratiharas, earlier in the century¹. They held a brief suzerainty over the Ganges-Jumna Doab but were supplanted by Lakshmikarna of the Kalachuri dynasty, founded still earlier at Tripuri, in the Jubbulpur district of the Central provinces². The latter, however, had to succumb to the rising Gahdvalas who, under Govindachandra (1114-1154), extended their territory at the cost of the Pala and Sena rulers of Bengal on one side and probably of the Tomaras of Delhi, on the other. The Chandella dominion comprised western Bundelkhand, probably with the Jumna as the northern boundary; the south-eastern frontier must have been co-terminous with that of the Kalachuris. They also appear to have exercised suzerainty over the Kachwaha ruler of Gwalior³. The Gahdvala kingdom originally consisted of Kasi (Benares), Kosala (Awadh), Kausik (Allahabad region), and Indrasthana (Indraprastha—Delhi?)⁴. The expansionist policy followed by the kings of this dynasty soon affected the neighbouring states. Judging from the regnal titles of Chandra Deva, which include those borne earlier by Jasahkarna of Tripuri, the Kalachuris were the first to suffer⁵.

Chandradeva's grandson, Govindachandra, was the greatest ruler of his dynasty. His contemporary in Kalinjar, Madanavarma was another equally aggressive prince who is said to have defeated the Paramaras of Malwa, and to have successfully crossed swords with

¹ Smith: *op. cit.* p. 405.

² Ray: *Dynastic History*, I. P. 504; II, p. 779.

³ For a traditional account of the Gwalior fort see *Gwalior Namah* of Hiranman Munshi; also Cunningham: *Reports*, II, pp. 312-316. According to Ojha: *Tod's Annals*, Hindi edition, p. 373, the Kachwahas ruled there upto 1155; see also Ray: *Dynastic History*, II, p. 825-6.

⁴ *EI*, IX, p. 304; *IA*, XVII.

⁵ *EI*, XVIII, p. 193.

Siddharaja of Gujrat¹. The ambition of these two rulers could find permanent satisfaction only at the cost of the weak Kalachuris. A part of the latter kingdom, comprising parts of Sagar, Damoh and Jubbulpur districts, was annexed to the Chandella kingdom². On the northwest, Govindachandra appropriated a goodly portion³. Towards the south, also, the Kalachuris

Fall of the
Kalachuris.

suffered attacks from the Ganga kings of Orissa who attained the height of their power under Chodaganga (1076-1147). Hostilities with the latter are referred to in two inscriptions of a line of collateral Kalachuri princes of Tummana⁴, which led to prolonged warfare. The Gangas ultimately succeeded in reducing to vassalage the Kalachuri king Paramardi who is mentioned as fighting under the banners of Narasinha II (1278-1302)⁵. The dissolution of their kingdom even by the end of the 12th century is indicated by a grant, dated in 1214, wherein the Maharanaka of Kakkaredi, (modern Rewah), formerly a Kalachuri vassal, is found acknowledging Chandella paramountcy⁶. The last Kalachuri record so far discovered belongs to the year 1195 A.D.⁷.

In spite of this initial success the Chandellas appear to to have been finally beaten by the Gahdvalas in the race for power in North India. The long reign of

¹ *El*, I, pp. 195-207; *JASB*, XVII, pp. 317-20.

² *IA*, 1908, p. 148-4.

³ In an inscription he is found confirming a grant originally made by Jashahkarna; *JASB*, XXXI, p. 123-4.

⁴ *El*, Z, pp. 45-52.

⁵ *Ibid*, XIII, p. 151-2.

⁶ Cunningham: *Reports*, XXI, p. 104, 146-48. Cf. Smith, *IA*, 1908, p. 124, note 35 who does not think that Trailokyavarma of the inscription belonged to the Chandella dynasty.

⁷ *IA*, XVII, p. 228; see *IHQ*, 1927, p. 175, for some coins of a Kalachuri prince, said to have been ruling at Ratnapur in the Central provinces, from 1250 to 1298.

Madanavarma (1125-1165) was followed by that of his grand son Pararnardideva. His power was shaken by the defeat inflicted by Prithviraja Gahdvala-Chandella rivalry. II, resulting in the probable loss of his western possessions to the Chauhanas. His immediate control could not have extended far beyond Mahoba, Khajuraho, Kalinjar and Ajaigarh. An inscription dated in 1176, recording a gift of some villages, would however extend his suzerainty upto Jhansi¹.

Left alone in the field, the Gahdvalas steadily widened their dominion. Grants found in Gorakhpur, Allahabad, and Patna outline the eastward expansion of Govindachandra's kingdom². These conquests were mostly at the cost of the Pala possessions. The expansionist policy was continued by Vijayachandra (c. 1155-1170) in whose reign the district of Shahabad appears under Gahdvala sway³. His son and successor, Jaichand of the Muslim writers, was the last of the imperial Gahdvalas. Among his grants, which range in date from 1170 to 1189, those issued from Benares and Gaya testify to his continued hold on Bihar⁴. We shall have occasion to describe the hostilities that must have been occasioned by these conquests with the Pala and Sena rulers. Towards the northeast corner of the Gahdvala kingdom a line of Rashtrakuta princes held sway over Budaon from the time of Chandradeva⁵, presumably as feudatories.

¹ *IA*, 1909/10, p. 44.

² *EI*, V, pp. 113-15; VII, p. 98; 1922, p. 81.

³ *JASOS*, VI, p. 547. The grant, dated in 1169 mentions a feudatory ruler, named Maharanaka Pratapadhavala of Japila. See also *EI*, V, no. 153 (Kielhorn's list).

⁴ *IA*, XVIII, pp. 129-134; *IHQ*, 1929, pp. 14-30.

⁵ *IA*, XVII, p. 61. Kielhorn read the date on Madanapala's inscription as V. S. 1276/1219-20, but the mistake was later rectified and the correct reading was found to be 1176/1119-20; *IA*, XXIV, p. 176; see also *JASSB*, 1892, extra number, p. 58. Lakhnapala of the Budaon inscription belongs to the same line of princes as Madanapala who is herein

The States of Eastern India

The principal feature in the political condition of Northeastern India during the period under review was

Dissolution of the Pala empire. the rapid dissolution of the Pala empire. Rampala (c. 1126) who succeeded in recovering his ancestral throne from the Kaivarta usurper Dibya, was able to revive for a short period the imperial glory by obtaining victories in Utkala, Kalinga and Kamrup. But his death was followed by an almost immediate collapse. His viceroy, Vaidyadeva, declared independence in the Brahmaputra valley¹. The feudatory kings of the Varman dynasty ruling over eastern and part of southern Bengal also set themselves up as independent sovereigns². Even the petty rulers of Aparā-Mandara (in western Bengal, Hooghly district) repudiated their vassalage and, what is more, entered into alliance with the Senas who, under Vijayasena (1097-1159), had lately asserted independence over a part of Radha (West Bengal)³. Under Kumarpala (1126-30) and Madanapala (c. 1130-50) the Pala dominion fast dwindled in size and came to comprise only a small portion of the Varendri division of North Bengal. In Bihar their power was circumscribed by the independent principality of Yakshapala, at Gaya, a former vassal of Rampala⁴. Another recently independent dynasty, calling themselves Pithipatis, ruled in parts of the Gaya and Hazaribagh districts⁵.

mentioned; *EI*, I, p. 61-2. On paleographic grounds the second inscription is ascribed to the end of the 12th century. See also Ren: *History of the Rathors*, p. 16, for the relation of this Rashtrakuta family to the Gahdvalas of Kanouj.

¹ *EI*, II p. 355-56.

² Two records have so far been found of this dynasty and although they are without dates, they can yet be assigned to the 12th century; *EI*, XII, pp. 37-43; Majumdar: *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 25-41.

³ *JASB*, 1914, p. 97; Ray: *Dynastic History*, I, pp. 320-21, 342-43, and 359; see also Sarkar, G.D: *Early History of Bengal*, *JDL*, XVII, p. 14.

⁴ *JA*, XVI, pp. 63-66.

⁵ *EI*, II, pp. 330-342. See also *DHB*, I, p. 259-60.

In the scramble for territories that followed the dissolution of the Pala empire, the Sena chieftains forestalled all the others. In their grants, they call themselves *Brahmakshatriyas*¹—a term, which indicates a mixed origin—and are known to have come from South India in the train of the Chalukya Vikramaditya when he invaded northeast India between c. 1044—and 1068². Vijayasena (1097-1159)³ soon attacked and dispossessed the Varmans of east Bengal from where he issued a grant in 1159⁴. Evidence suggests that he also made himself master of part of Varendri; the last grant of Madanapala, issued in Bengal, is dated in his eighth regnal year⁵. In his grants, Vijayasena claims not only to have defeated the Gouda ruler, but also those of Kamrup, Kalinga and the smaller princes of north and south Bengal. The victory over the Kamrup king may have some reference to his conflicts with either Ryarideva or his successor Udayakarna, who preceded Vallabhadeva of the Chandravansi dynasty⁶. Raghava, the successor of Chodaganga in Orissa, is said to have levied tribute from the lands bordering on the Ganges and thus presumably incurred the hostility of the Senas, related, as mentioned above, to the Sura rulers of the affected territory. Vijayasena also fought successfully with Nanyadeva of Mithila (North Bihar)⁷. In the copper-plate grant of

¹ The term has been interpreted as meaning either a Brahmin adopting the profession of a Kshatriya, or a Kshatriya intermarrying with the Brahmin. For a discussion of their origin see, *DHB* I, pp. 205-209.

² Ray: *Dynastic History*, I, p. 354-57.

³ Great controversy raged over the chronology of the Senas. For a full discussion see *DHB* I, pp. 230-32. A full bibliography of the question will be found in Ray: *Dynastic History*, I, p. 353-4.

⁴ *EI*, XV, pp. 278-86.

⁵ *JASB*, 1900, pp. 66-73.

⁶ Vallabhadeva's inscription bears the date *Saka* 1107/1184-5; *EI*, V, pp. 181-88. The relation between Vaidyadeva and Vallabhadeva is not clear.

⁷ *JASB*, 1915, p. 408-9.

his successors he is mentioned as having sent a naval expedition up the Ganges. This must obviously refer to the beginning of hostilities with the Gahdvalas, then advancing rapidly into Magadha.

Madanapala was most probably driven out of Bengal after his eighth regnal year. He succeeded in maintaining a precarious rule in the Patna and Monghyr districts upto c. 1150'.
Situation in
Bihar.

Ballalasena (1159-1170) and his son Lakshmana, the Rai Lakhmania of the Persian writers, (1170-1206) not only maintained their hold on Mithila but also appear to have advanced westwards². The Palas lingered somehow near Gaya where an inscription of a prince, presumably of this dynasty, named Govindapala, is dated in his 14th regnal year, which some scholars equate with V.S. 1238/1175 A.D.³ Another prince, named Palapala, is also mentioned in the inscription of an image dedicated in his 35th regnal year⁴. For all practical purposes, however, the Palas ceased to exist in Bihar, the greater part of which passed under the Gahdvalas. By the end of the century Pala rule, if it existed at all, must have been confined to what is now Bihar district within which was situated the monastic university town (*vihar*) of Uddandapur (Odantapuri).

¹ An inscription of his 19th year was found near Lakhisarai, Monghyr; Cunningham: *Reports*, III, p. 125.

² Lakshmanasena is said to have erected pillars of victory at Puri, Benares and Allahabad, *JASB*, 1914, pp. 97-104; Ray: *Dynastic History*, I, p. 368.

³ Cunningham: *Reports*, III, p. 125. Another of his inscriptions has been found nearby, dated in 1178; *ibid*, XV, p. 155. See Banerji: *A history of the Pala Dynasty*, *IASB*, no. 5, pp. 108-12, for a different interpretation of the dates. See also *JASB*, (N.S.) IX, p. 278, and Banerji: *Banglar Itihasa*, I, pp. 348-51.

⁴ Cunningham: *Reports*, III, Pl. XLV, n. 38. *JBOBS*, 1918, p. 496. For the account of the last traditional Pala ruler who is reported to have fled and fortified himself in the Jainagar fort against the Muslim forces led by a saint named Makhdum, supposed to have been buried at Kajol, near Lakhisarai, see Cunningham: *Reports*, III, p. 159; also Martin: *Eastern India*, II, p. 23.

CHAPTER III.

THE INITIAL CONQUEST

In the last chapter have been described the stages in which Punjab and Sind were annexed to the growing Ghoride empire. Muslim rule in these countries was not new; the conquest was little more than a dynastic change, and resistance to the invader could never assume the colour of a socio-religious war. Such conflict was bound to occur in territories which had an unbroken tradition of Hindu rule, and there it was that the Turco-Muslims met with real and sustained opposition. Not only were they of an alien race but were followers of a religion which had little in common with that practised in India. Hinduism has amazing powers of assimilation; it has absorbed countless peoples in the past whose identity is now lost in the mosaic of Indian society and culture. But not so the Muslims; they resolutely maintained their identity and refused compromise in religion. For the first time in her history, India was to reconcile herself to the existence of a separate culture-community.

Before we proceed to describe the initial conquest of the North Indian kingdoms, a few words seem to be called for regarding the geography of the invasion.

River routes
of North India.

India is a land of sharp climatic and orographical contrast. In spite of apparent lack of natural boundaries within her frontiers, an invader has to proceed with caution. The Indus valley region is an world in itself. It has greater affinities with the west and the north rather than with the south and the east. A formidable

desert on the east, leads to an inhospitable region where mountains, parched soil and a pitiless sun make subsistence the reward of constant struggle. The stony soil of Rajputana has made restless warriors of her men. And yet, across the Aravalli range, only a couple of hundred miles from Central Rajputana, is the agriculturists' paradise. The Ganges valley, a belt of land not exceeding three hundred miles in breadth and skirted by the forbidding Himalayas and the Central Indian wilderness on either side, has the means of supporting the densest population in the whole of North India. Like the Nile valley, it has been the centre of civilised life from the earliest times, for a kind nature has made man indifferent to struggle for material ends. As if to complete its isolation, nature has provided a narrow entrance to the valley which it is not difficult to guard. The Aravalli hills from the southwest and the Siwalikh (Sapadalaksha) from the northeast approach each other across the plain separating the Punjab from the Ganges valley, leaving a conveniently narrow gap not more than a hundred miles in width. Through this gap, or to use a commoner term, bottleneck alone, Hindusthan could be approached militarily from the west. Nature has decreed that Hindusthan's fate is decided in battles fought not inside the valley, but in the plains extending from the Sutlej to the Jumna. For, once the invader set his foot inside this flat river-country, defence was necessarily at a disadvantage. Progress would be found easy until he came up, at the eastern bend of the Ganges, against a similar entrance narrowed by the northern spurs of the Vindhya and the Terai. At this point, north of the river, the plains are intersected by numerous swift-flowing hill-streams and broad rivers; on the south, the

very narrow ledge of the hills jutting almost on the river, affords the only comparatively easier passage into yet another fertile country of rivers and, of plenty. Bengal is remarkably well-provided with natural defences also. Her climate, marshy soil and countless rivers with seasonal floods are a great deterrent to the northerner. On the west, almost an unbroken chain of hills and trackless forests extend to a great length towards the sea; on the east, she is shut off by a similar barrier pierced only by the Brahmaputra which leads to another narrow valley, equally fertile, but whose uneven soil, flooded streams and moist air are a death-trap to the western invader.

It is these water-courses that the invader from the northwest had perforce to follow, for living on the lands he traversed was a vital necessity; to misunderstand the direction of geography was to court disaster. Muizzuddin's earlier attempts on India provide a good illustration, but a preliminary remark on the route from Afghanistan appears relevant. The ordinary route from beyond the Sulaiman mountains in those days was not the well-known Khaibar pass, nor the Bolan in the south, but through the Gomal which led to Dera Ismail Khan and thence to upper Sind Sagar Doab. The Khaibar, Bolan and the less accessible Kurram and Tochi passes were not used by trading caravans to the same extent as the Gomal passage which was the normal military route¹.

¹ On one or two occasions when Muizzuddin came to Peshawar, he might have used the Khaibar, but the southern routes were more convenient. The troops of the Khwarizm Shah, with a view to capture Yalduz, the ruler of Gazni, in 1215, are stated to have sieged the frontier routes into Hindusthan, "leading towards Gardaiz and Karaha pass", that is, the Kurram valley; Yalduz had to take a more southeasterly route, through the "Sang-i-Surakh" mountains, which according to Raverty *op. cit.* p. 505, is the name given to three or four passes; Minhaj, p. 135. Through the province of "Karman and Sankuran", the old name of the tract between

This is borne out by the fact that throughout the 13th century the first point of attack for an invading army from beyond the Sulaiman range was Multan or Uch and not Lahore or Peshawar. From Ghazni the shortest route to the Punjab was through Kurram, Tochi and Gomal, and Khaibar involved a long detour through the north. Politically the Khaibar area was not safe; the tribes inhabiting the northern Sind Sagar Doab were perpetually hostile.

It was Upper Sind therefore which Muizzuddin could reach on his first expedition into India. How easily the dynasties of Multan and Uch fell to his army has been described in the last chapter. His next expedition, bold as it was ill advised, was yet only a continuation of

Muizzuddin's first
defeat in Gujrat.

earlier attempts to penetrate through western Rajputana. For, pressure from the Turks had kept the Rajputs busy in that quarter throughout the last fifty years. In an inscription of the Chauhana ruler, Chachigadeva of Nadol, dated in 1262, reference is made to the defeat and destruction of a Turushka army by his ancestor, Anahilladeva, a contemporary of Bhima I of Gujrat¹. His son Kalhana, the dates of whose inscriptions range from 1161 to 1179, also destroyed a Turushka army.² It was perhaps one of these expeditions which resulted in the capture of Nagaur (in Marwar state) by Bahlim, Bahram's governor in the

the Salt Range and Gardaiz, south of the "Safed Koh", passed the lower route into Hindusthan usually used by Muizzuddin. Minhaj, p. 132; Raverty: *op. cit.* pp. 498-9; see also Raverty: *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 80-84. It was probably within this area that the passes of the "Sang-i-Surakh" (perforated mountain) were situated through which both Yalduz and Aibak retreated from Ghazni. Minhaj, p. 134-35; see also Raverty: *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 38-9; *Trans. Tab. Nas.*, p. 538, note.

¹ *EI*, IX, p. 62-63; Ojha; *Rajputana* I, p. 269.

² *EI*, XI, pp. 46-51.

Punjab, as recorded in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. All these were destined to fail, but in so doing they were to bring geography to the forefront of military calculations.

Following these examples, Muizzuddin directed his forces against the Chalukya state of Gujrat, a province rich in resources and holding, as it might have been presumed, the key to the Indian hinterland. It held, at any rate, an effective paramountcy over the western Rajput states and was thus an obstacle to his plan of outflanking the Ghaznawides and opening up a route into Hindusthan. Passing through Multan and Uch in 1178, he struck across the Rajputana desert and arrived with an exhausted army at the foot of Mt. Abu where he found the fresh troops of Mularaja II waiting to oppose his progress. In the engagement, fought near the village of Kayadra² in a position which was not of Muizzuddin's choosing, he suffered a signal defeat. He was lucky to be able to escape with his beaten army.

It was a defeat not only of his forces but also of his plans. For him, Hindusthan now appeared to have only one practicable approach and the annexation of the Ghaznawide Punjab became more a strategic than political necessity. The next few years accordingly found him making a determined and gradual advance through Khusrau Malik's dominion. Peshawar, as we have seen, was taken in 1179; Sialkot fell in 1185; and Lahore after three expeditions was finally occupied in

¹ P. 24.

² Minhaj, p. 116. It mentions Bhima as the reigning king of Anhilwara, but inscriptions and other Hindu records ascribe this victory to Mularaja, II, *IA*, 1877 p. 186, and 198; see also Forbes: *Rasmala*, (ed. Rawlinson), I, p. 199-200. Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 220. Cf. Ray: *Dynastic History*, II, p. 1004-5. A mutilated inscription at Kiradu, near Mt. Abu, dated V.S. 1235/1178 A. D., records the repair of an idol temple broken by a Turushka army, an obvious reference to Muizzuddin's invasion; *EI*, XI, p. 72.

1186. Three years later he began his operations against India proper.

It is worth while to refer to earlier attempts in this quarter, for Muizzudin's victory on the plains of Tarain was not, as is generally supposed, an isolated personal triumph, nor was it an accident. It was on the one hand, the execution of a deliberate plan by a resolute conqueror and on the other, the fulfilment of a process which extended over the whole of the 12th century. His was only the most successful of the many attempts made by the Turks from the northwest to get a foothold in Hindusthan, and which, therefore, may be regarded as preliminary to Tarain. The Shansabani conqueror thus, perhaps, unwittingly, brought to a successful end a century of reconnoitering activity, a programme of military action of which he was not the originator. Mahmud's brilliant campaigns had shown the way, and the Ghaznawide governors of the Punjab, although living under a fast declining empire, maintained pressure on the Hindu states of the Gangetic valley. According to Baihaqui¹, Ahmad Niyaltigin, in course of his expedition, penetrated as far as Benares. The same authority also credits Masud with the capture of Hansi². Ibrahim is also said to have conducted expeditions against the "infidels"³. The cumulative effect of these raids at the end of the 11th century could not have been great, but the seriousness of the Turkish menace was realised by the Rajput kings. This is clear from the mention of the tax called

¹ *Tarikh*, p. 497.

² *Ibid*, p. 665. Minhaj, p. 14, states that he led armies into Hindusthan on several occasions. Raverty: trans, *Tab. Nas*, p. 93, notes, states, without citing his authority, that near Zafarabad, in Jaunpur, Firoz Tughluq witnessed ruins of temples believed to have been destroyed by Masud.

³ Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 105, note 4.

"*Turushka danda*" (probably collected either to pay off the Turks or to meet the increased cost of fighting them), in a grant of the Gahdvala ruler, Govindachandra¹. The language of the grant suggests that the tax was a familiar impost. These attacks increased in frequency and extent in the following century. A grant of Madanapala, dated in 1109, refers to his father Govindachandra as having "compelled the *Hammira* to lay aside his enmity by his matchless fighting"². In an inscription of the feudatory prince, Lakhanapala of Budaon, his great-grand-father Madanapala is mentioned "in consequence of whose distinguished prowess there never was any talk of the *Hammira* coming to the bank of the river of the gods"³. The queen of Govindachandra extols her husband as one "who had been commissioned by *Hara* (God) in order to protect Baranasi from the wicked *Turushka* warrior as the only one who was able to protect the earth⁴." The reference to Benares seems to indicate its connection with the expedition of Hajib Tughatigin, the governor of the Punjab under Masud III who is reported to have penetrated to a place across the Ganges which no one except Mahmud had reached before⁵. Vijayachandra (1150-1170) also claimed to have "swept away the affliction of the globe by streams of water flowing from the eyes of the wives of the *Hammira*, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth"⁶. The last Gahdvala ruler, Jayachandra, is also credited in later Sanskrit works with having overcome the "king

¹ *IA*, XIV, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, 1889, pp. 14-19.

³ *EI*, I, p. 62.

⁴ *EI*, IX, pp. 234-37.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 22. It is also mentioned in some detail in the *divan* of Masud-i-Sad b. Salman, a contemporary poet; Elliot; IV, pp. 526-27.

⁶ *IA*, XV, p. 9.

of Ghor"¹. This must refer to some preliminary inroad before the final engagement.

The most vigorous pressure, however, was bound to be felt by the Chauhanas who ruled the territory from Ajmer to Delhi and thus guarded the entrance.

Pressure on
the Chauhanas.

Durlava II of Sambhar is said to have lost his life in fighting the Turks. Ajayadeva is credited with having repeatedly defeated the Muslim intruders². During the reign of Arnoraja, the Turks destroyed Pushkar and reached as far as Anasagar. In the following reign of Vighararaja IV, they advanced on Balbera (modern Rupnagar, Kishangarh state)³. The Delhi pillar inscription of the same monarch, dated V. S. 1220/1163 A.D., records his conquest of the land between the Vindhya and the Himalayas, his extermination of the *mlecchas*, and to his restoring the country to the *Aryas*⁴. He exhorts his descendants to continue the war against the unclean invaders. A more definite evidence of the threatening advance of the Turks is furnished by an inscription of Prithviraja I recording the fortification of the frontier town of Hansi to check the progress of the "*Hammira* who has become the cause of anxiety to the world"⁵. The inscription also mentions the conquest of "Pachapur", probably identical with Pachapattan (Pakpattan) on the old bank of Sutlej. The mention of Hansi along with Pakpattan indicates

¹ Vidyapati: *Purusapariksha*, pp. 146-7. In a Sanskrit drama named *Rambha Manjari*, Jayachandra is called "the destroyer of all the *Javanas*".

² Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 266.

³ *IA*, XX, p. 202; Sarda: *Ajmer*, p. 79.

⁴ *IA*, 1890, pp. 215-217.

⁵ *IA*, XLI, p. 17-8; Thomas: *Chronicles*, p. 59, noticed a coin of one Kihana with the Arabic legend, *Sina* inscribed on the obverse, which, according to him, is found only on the coins of Masud III. Kihana originally must then have been Masud's feudatory who had later rebelled and fortified the route from Pakpattan.

the tract through which these attacks were delivered. The fortification of Hansi points to a policy of occupying important towns on this area for better defence. No epigraphic records exist to show the extent to which this policy was subsequently continued by the Chauhanas, but a few years later, as we know from the Muslim accounts, Bhatinda, situated about a hundred miles north of Hansi, had become a Chauhana frontier stronghold when Muizzuddin, opening his attacks on 'Hindusthan', closely besieged it in 587/1189.

It was probably a surprise attack, for the garrison failed to hold out and quickly surrendered. This easy victory, however, Muizzuddin was not prepared to follow up by an immediate advance into Chauhana territory. Instead, he left Ziauddin of Tulak, with 12,000, troops to hold it till his return next year. But before he could start on his way back, Prithviraja came in person to recover the fortress². According to Ferishta his army

First defeat
at Tarain.

¹ Ishwariprasad: *Medieval India*, p. 117, states that Sirhind, in Patiala, 100 miles N.W. of Karnal, was the first place captured. He relies on the printed text of Minhaj, p. 118, which has Sirhindah, and in this, is supported by later histories like the *Mirat-i-Jahan Numa*, f. 50a, and *Zubdatut-twarikh*, f. 7b. Ferishta and *TA* however, have Bhatindah; *Tarikh* I, p. 5 and 7; *TA*, I, p. 37, Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 457, note 3, however, informs us that in all the Mss. collated by him, it is written Tabarhindah, which is also found in *TM*, p. 7, Budaoni, I, p. 49, and Haji Dabir, II, p. 677. No such place is known to have ever existed. No one acquainted with the hurried style of writing Persian characters, can fail to see that a transposition of a few dots and a careless joining of letters are all that is required to make Bhatinda read Tabarhindah and even Sirhindah. Sirhind seems to be entirely improbable, for the shortest route from Lahore to Hindusthan lay through western Patiala in which Bhatinda is situated. No remains of any strong fort, such as that withstood Prithviraja's assaults for over a year, are found in Sirhind. See Cunningham: *Reports*, II, p. 205. On the otherhand, in Bhatinda, Garrick noticed a strong massive fort and also heard local legends respecting Muizzuddin's attack on the place. Cunningham: *Reports*, XXIII, p. 2-3. According to Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 458, note, the *Lubbu't-twarikh-i-Hind*, states that "Tabarhinda is now known as Bhatinda". But Prasad asserts that "Sirhind was known as Bhatinda".

² Minhaj, p. 119.

consisted of "two hundred thousand horsemen and thirty thousand elephants". Muizzuddin turned round to meet him, but in the battle fought near the village of Tarain², not far from the fort, he was decisively beaten. Wounded seriously, he was helped to escape by a Khalji cavalryman, and with the remnant of his forces managed to reach Ghazni. Prithviraja immediately invested the fortress but it took him thirteen months to force Ziauddin into surrender.

According to Ferishta the battle was lost owing to the negligence of the Afghan, Khalji and Khurasani officers whom he subjected to great humiliation at Ghazni. Next year he returned to the attack with a force of one hundred and twenty thousand cavalry and once more

Second battle
of Tarain.

met his Chauhana adversary on the field of Tarain. He naturally was cautious this time. In order, possibly, to gain time for completing his preparations and also to throw the enemy off his guard, he sent Qiwanul Mulk from Lahore demanding Prithviraja's submission³. The answer, full of defiance and scorn, was probably expected. When battle was eventually joined, Prithviraja's army is reported to have numbered three hundred thousand men "according to the most authentic accounts". Muizzuddin divided his forces into five

¹ I. p. 5 and 7. Ibnul Asir, XI, 255.

² Minhaj, p. 118. Ferishta, I, pp. 5-7, and TA, I, p. 37, state that it was fought at Narain near Tarai, "in the district of Sarsuti". For a discussion of the site, see appendix B.

³ *Tajul Maasir* I. O., No. 1486, f. 34. See Ferishta, I. p. 58, who obviously borrowed from Ibnul Asir, XI, p. 43-4, for the story of Muizzuddin's *feint* to throw Prithviraja off his guard which succeeded remarkably well and was taken full advantage of. Cf. Ray: *Dynastic History*, II, pp. 1010-1013, where it is fully reproduced from Raverty's supposed quotation from the *Tajul Maasir*. Hasan Nizami, however, does not mention the story at all, and Ibnul Asir's account is admittedly based on questionable authority. See Isami, *Futuhus-Salatin*, p. 71-2, for the ingenuous manner in which Muizzuddin provided for the lack of elephants whose presence in the Indian army frightened his horses.

⁴ Ferishta, I, p. 58.

divisions, four of which engaged the enemy on all sides. At the end of the day the fifth division, kept in reserve, attacked the exhausted enemy and thus decided the issue¹. Khandi Rai, (Govinda Rai), who had wounded Muizzuddin in the last year's engagement, was killed and Prithviraja, trying to escape, was captured near Sarsuti². According to Hasan Nizami, he was taken to Ajmer where after some time, on being found guilty of treason, he was put to death³. A few of his coins with the Sanskrit superscription "*Hammira*" on the obverse, would however, indicate his initial acceptance of Muizzuddin's suzerainty⁴.

This victory laid the whole Chauhana kingdom at Muizzuddin's feet. Hansi, Kuhram, and Sarsuti, all places of military importance, were occupied and garrisoned⁵. But immediate taking over of the administration did not seem convenient and so Ajmer was allowed to be retained by Prithviraja's son on condition of vassalage⁶. The same policy was adopted towards the Tomaras of Delhi where Khandirai's successor acknowledged Muizzuddin's suzerainty. An occupation army was stationed at Inderpat, near Delhi, under the command of Qutbuddin Aibak who was to act as Muizzuddin's representative⁷.

¹ For details of the tactics followed see *TM* p. 9.

² Minhaj, p. 120.

³ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 44b. Minhaj states that he was immediately executed. For the absurd story of Chand Bardai of how Prithviraja, blinded and kept in confinement at Ghazni, was yet able, with the help of Chand himself, to slay Muizzuddin before his own execution, see *Prithviraja Basu*, VI; also *Raj Darashani*, f. 49a.

⁴ Thomas: *Chronicles*, p. 12, no. 15.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 120; Fakhre Mudir, p. 22.

⁶ Hasan Nizami calls him Kola or Gola, (lit. an illegitimate son). He is not mentioned in the *Hammira-maha-kavya*. Vaidya: *Downfall of Hindu India*, III, p. 389, calls this prince Rainsi, while Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 270, prefers Govindarai. This last-named person, however, according to the *Hammira-maha-kavya*, was Prithviraja's grandson; *IA*, 1879, p. 55. On this last point see also Ray: *Dynastic History*, II, p. 1068, note.

⁷ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 48.

The conqueror returned to his Central Asian projects leaving Aibak with wide powers to consolidate and extend the conquests. A serious rising by the supporters of Prithviraja, however, ^{Initial dangers and annexations.} engaged the latter's immediate attention. In *Ramzan*, 588/1192, a Hindu chief, whom Hasan Nizami calls Jatwan, (possibly meant for Chauhana), besieged the Muslim garrison at Hansi. Aibak at once rushed to its relief, raised the siege and pursued Jatwan upto Bagar. There the chieftain faced, gave battle, was defeated and slain. Having refortified Hansi towards the end of the same year, Aibak crossed the Junna to establish a military foothold in the upper Doab². The greater part of the region was held, under the Gahdvalas, by the Dor Rajputs with their stronghold at Baran, who were by no means pacifically disposed to the Muslim power established just across the river³. Their traditional accounts, emphasising the hard fight they put up against the Turkish forces under the leadership of Chandrasena, find partial confirmation in Muizzuddin's *Firman* wherein Ajaipal, a relation of Chandrasena, is rewarded for his help in the capture of Baran, a clear proof that treachery expedited the event⁴. Meerut was also occupied on this occasion, and the two places, fortified and garrisoned, became spearheads of attack from the north on the Gahdvala dominions⁵.

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 55a and 60a. Bagar would seem to be a general term applied to western Rajputana.

² *Ibid.*, f. 67a.

³ They held extensive territories in Meerut, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Mathura, Etah and also across the Ganges in Moradabad. For their history see *JASB*, 1879, p. 273.

⁴ See appendix, A. According to the Dor traditions Chandrasena lost his life in defending Baran against the Muslims in 1194. This date, however, against 1192 of the *Firman* and of the Muslim chronicles, is obviously wrong.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 139, dates the capture of Meerut in 587/1191, but he is

Aibak next set himself to find a central and permanent headquarters. The camp at Inderpat was clearly a temporary residence and could hardly satisfy the growing needs of a political capital. Ajmer, situated well inside Rajputana, appeared unsuitable as a centre of Turkish power which was meant to be expanded towards Hindusthan. Delhi was a better alternative; its situation and historical traditions provided the necessary features. A timely discovery of hostile designs of the Tomara ruler furnished the pretext and accordingly, early in 589/1193, Aibak moved his forces against the city. It was occupied with comparative ease, the Hindu prince being allowed to evacuate his men. Delhi thus became the capital of Muizzuddin's Indian dominions¹.

Very soon Aibak had to take the field again. Hariraja, the brother of the late Chauhana king, collected a Rajput force and besieged Ranthambhor where, earlier in the year, Aibak had placed a garrison under Qiwanul Mulk². The Chauhanas also drove out the feudatory prince, Prithviraja's son, and occupied Ajmer. On Aibak's approach, they withdrew from both the places enabling the prince to be reinstated, but before Hariraja could be effectively pursued, the Muslim general was called away by the news of another rising headed by the dispossessed ruler of Delhi. This was however easily crushed³. Hariraja

more correct in assigning it to 588/1192, on p. 120.

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 67b, places the conquest of Delhi towards the end of 588/1192, as is done also in Minhaj, p. 120, *TM*, p. 11, *T4*, I, p. 38-39, and Ferishta, I, p. 58. Thomas read the date on the Qutb Minar inscription as 587; *Chronicles*, p. 22. But this may also be read as 589.

² *Tajul Maasir*, f. 70a; Fakhre-Mudir, p. 22. For a grant dated in 1194, of a village near Ajmer, by Hariraja's wife, Pratapadevi, see *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, 1911-12.

³ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 72b.

was still at large when, according to Hasan Nizami¹, Aibak was sent for by his master at Ghazni where, for reasons nowhere adequately explained, he stayed for nearly six months. How in his absence the Turkish garrisons fared against the attacks of Hariraja and other chiefs like him the chronicles give us no means of knowing. The Dor Rajputs, possibly, became a more serious menace calling for urgent action, for immediately on his return in 590/1194, Aibak is stated to have crossed the Jumna a second time and captured Kol (Koil, Aligarh)².

He was still in the Doab when Muizzuddin once again marched his forces to Hindusthan. The operations against the Dors in the upper Doab were clearly designed to prepare the way for an eventual conquest of the Gahdvala dominion, for it contained the coveted Hindusthan proper. Aibak probably visited Ghazni to assist in the formulation of plans which his master now came personally to execute. With the Delhi forces having joined him, Muizzuddin marched at the head of the invasion army numbering fifty thousand horsemen, towards Benares³. Jayachandra's reconnoitering force suffered defeat in a preliminary engagement with Aibak's advance guards⁴. The two main armies eventually met in the vicinity of Chandwar, on the Jumna between Kanouj and Etah. The battle was severely contested, the Gahdvalas, led by Jayachandra in person, almost carrying the day when his own death threw his

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 75a. Ibn Battuta, II p. 19-20 relates a curious story of how his master summoned him secretly to confound his enemies who accused him of disloyalty.

² *Tajul Maasir*, f. 103b. Minhaj places it in 599; p. 120.

³ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 123b. The *Tarikh-i-Ajfi* f. 495, states that Jayachandra with an army of a hundred thousand horse and seven hundred elephants, was himself marching against Muizzuddin's territories.

⁴ Only Ferishta, I, p. 58, mentions this preliminary engagement.

army into confusion. Muizzunddin was quick to take advantage of the development and turned the confusion into a rout¹.

This victory added another great kingdom extending as far as Monghyr to the Shansabani empire. It was made a military division and Malik Husamuddin Ughulbak became its first commandant (*Muqti*). Garrisons were placed in Benares, Asni and other towns whose occupation, because of the treasure they were reported to contain, took precedence over that even of the capital city of Kanouj², which was not taken until 595/1198-9. Gahdvala rule however, still survived in the country. A grant discovered at Machlishahr, dated in 1199, was issued by Jayachandra's son, Harishchandra who appears therein as an independent sovereign³. An inscription of Ranaka Vijayakarna discovered in the Mirzapur district, refers to the Gahdvala kingdom as if it was still continuing; it however, omits the reigning king's name, possibly to indicate the recent political change⁴. Even Kanouj must have been recovered to necessitate its subsequent reconquest by Iltutmish⁵.

After Muizzuddin's departure Aibak had to proceed to the relief of the garrison in Kol, hard pressed, possibly, by the Dor Rajputs. On his return to Delhi in 591/1195, news arrived of fresh trouble in Ajmer. Hariraj had once again driven out his nephew and was

¹ Fakhre Mudir, p. 23; *Tajul Maasir*, f. 112, 117-8; Ibnul Asir, XII, p. 49.

² *Tajul Maasir*, f. 123b.

³ *EI*, X, pp. 93-98.

⁴ *JASB* (N.S.) VII, p. 757. Tradition has it that Zafarabad, near Jaunpur, was the capital of the later Gahdvalas. See Cunningham:

⁵ He issued coins to commemorate its conquest; *CCIM*, II, Pt. I, p. 21, no. 89. Smith, however, asserts that after the fall of the Gahdvalas, for eight generations Kanouj was ruled by the Chandellas; *JASB*, 1881, p. 48-9.

reported to be sending an army under Jhatrai to attack Delhi. Leaving a part of his forces to guard the capital, Aibak quickly set out to intercept Jhatrai. The latter thereupon turned and took shelter in Ajmer. On being closely besieged and unable to hold out any longer, Hariraja with all his followers sacrificed himself in the funeral pyre. Aibak then entered Ajmer but as Prithviraja's son had proved to be a liability as a vassal, he decided on direct annexation and a Muslim officer was installed there for the first time. The prince, was, however, compensated with Ranthambhor which later was to become the seat of a revitalised Chauhana dynasty¹.

Next year, in 592/1195-6, Muizzuddin again came to India and moved against Bayana, the capital of the Jadon Bhatti Rajputs. Without offering any frontal resistance the ruler, Kumarapala, withdrew to entrench himself in the neighbouring stronghold of Thangir (Tahangarh)². An effective siege however, soon compelled him to surrender and evacuate the fortress. Thangir and the fortified Vijayaymandirgarh were then occupied and garrisoned under the command of Bahauddin Tughril³. The latter founded a military station called Sultankot which was meant to serve as base of operations in the plains. The strong fort of Gwalior, held by a prince of the Parihara dynasty, named Sallakshanapala by Hasan Nizami',

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 136.

² Written Kupala by Hasan Nizami, f. 144a; Kumarapala is mentioned in the annals of the ancestors of the Jadon Bhatti dynasty of Kerauli; Cunningham; *Reports*, XX, pp. 6, 7-8.

³ *Tajul Maasir* f. 144b; Minhaj, p. 114, dates the event in 591/1195, but Fakhre Mudir p. 23, confirms Hasan Nizami. A locally current couplet in Hindi has preserved the date and name of the Muslim officer; Cunningham; *Reports*, VI, p. 55.

⁴ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 146b. According to Cunningham, he is probably to be identified with Lohangdeo, the fifth king in the list of Hiranman

next engaged Muizzuddin's attention. The hill-fortress stood the siege well and showed that it could do so indefinitely. Muizzuddin, therefore, was glad to raise the siege when Sallakshanapala, obviously a man of practical wisdom, sent messages offering to acknowledge his suzerainty¹. To allow a half-subdued enemy to continue in occupation of a strong fort was, however, strategically inadvisable, and its reduction, at a suitable time in future was, accordingly, decided upon. Tughril was selected for this purpose, who, the chronicler tells us, continued from the Sultankot base, to harry and cut off Gwalior's communications with the plains. Within a year and a half the Rajputs' position became untenable. They offered to evacuate the fortress and thus enabled Aibak to occupy it in the name of his master².

Towards the end of 592/1196, Aibak had to face another and as yet the most serious threat from the Rajputs. The Mher tribe inhabiting the neighbourhood of Ajmer³, in alliance, obviously with the dispossessed Chauhanas, asked the Chalukyas for armed assistance for expelling the Turks out of Rajputana. The garrison at Ajmer was not strong enough to meet the combined forces and sent to Delhi urgently for reinforcements. Setting out immediately, Aibak attacked the Mher forces assembled in front of the

Chalukya forces
besiege Aibak.

Munshi's *Gwalior Namah*, f. 9a; see also the version of Motiram and Khushal: I. O. 860 f. 8b. The prince, Sallakshanasinha, is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription discovered in Jhansi, as being engaged in fighting the *Javanas*. It is however, without date; *EI*, I, p. 214-15.

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 146a; Minhaj, p. 145.

² Minhaj, p. 145; Neither Hasan Nizami, nor the *Gwalior Namah*, records its final occupation. Fakhre Mudir places the event in 597/1200-1.

³ In all the Mss. of the *Tajul Maasir* that I have been able to examine, the tribe's name is written as Tunir or Natir; Ferishta also has the same form; I, p. 62. Elliot: II, p. 228, however, writes it as above, which in any case was the name of the tribe originally inhabiting Ajmer. See Cunningham: Reports, VI, p. 8.)

city awaiting the Chalukya army. In the midst of the fiercely contested battle, however, the latter arrived to compel Aibak to withdraw into Ajmer. The Rajputs thereupon commenced a close siege and Aibak found himself in a highly critical situation. Luckily for him, a relieving contingent arrived from Ghazni on whose establishing contact with the city the Rajputs withdrew¹.

From Ajmer, early next year, Aibak led his forces towards Anhilwara to avenge the treacherous attack. Passing through south-west Rajputana he arrived to find the Chalukya army under Dhara-varsha of Abu and Kelhana of Nadol², drawn up at the foot of the mountain where Muizzuddin had suffered his first defeat. Realising the strength of their position Aibak showed open hesitation to attack. Mistaking this prudence for fear the Chalukyas came out in the open where the Turkish horse could manoeuvre to the best advantage. In the resulting battle, superior mobility and shock tactics decided the issue³. Having obtained a clear victory Aibak found the way open to the capital, Anhilwara, from where the reigning king Bhima II. fled⁴. The expedition was intended to be a purely punitive measure but easy success probably tempted the victor to turn it into an occupation. The city was subjected to a thorough plundering and according to Ferishta, a Muslim officer was placed in charge of the country⁵. Its hazardous distance from Delhi, however was bound to make it a liability; the imperfect hold

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, I, 156a.

² Hasan Nizami calls Kelhana, Karwan Rai. For his inscription referring to this event, see, *BI*, XI, pp. 46-51.

³ *Minhaj*, p. 140.

⁴ Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 271. He seems to have confused the sequence of events.

⁵ *I*, p. 52.

on Rajputana became a serious obstacle. The conquest, in any case, was soon nullified. Contemporary Chalukya inscriptions boastfully record the expulsion of the Turks; Ibnul Asir's informant speaks of Aibak himself eventually restoring the country to its Hindu rulers¹. The Chalukya king is epigraphically proved to have retained his independent sovereignty down to 1240 with his hold on Abu remaining unimpaired².

Fakhre Mudir alone furnishes details of Aibak's military activities during the next six years. The country across the upper Ganges, hitherto unaffected by Turkish operations in the Doab, sheltered a large number of Gahdvala *emigre* from the south; Budaun presumably still retained its Rashtrakuta dynasty. To this part Aibak seems to have directed his arms. In 594/1197-8, Budaun was captured, followed by a second occupation of Benares³. Next year, in 595, "Chantarwal" (Chandwar?) and Kanouj are reported to have been captured. His subsequent operations were in Rajputana where, after the reduction of the kingdom of "Siroh" (Sirohi?), Fakhre Mudir mentions, under the year 596/1199-1200 the conquest of Malwah⁴. This later fact however, needs confirmation. It is not improbable that the hold on Rajputana was sought to be extended, and the process caused a Chauhana migration from Nadol southwards. The foundation of the Chauhana ruling families of Bundi, Kotah and Sirohi are, at any rate, ascribed to this period of Muslim penetration⁵. Aibak's acquisition in Rajputana, however,

Sundry operations.

¹ *EI*, I, p. 22, 338-9; II, p. 439. *al-Kamil fit-twarikh*, XII p. 79.

² *Asiatic Researches*, p. 289; *IA*, 1877, p. 187.

³ Fakhre Mudir, p. 24. The *Tajul Maasir*, f. 176b, mentions Aibak's stay in Budaun in 599/1203-3.

⁴ p. 24. Minhaj makes an obscure reference to the event by stating that Aibak subdued territories as far as Ujjain; p. 140.

⁵ Erskine: *Rajputana Gasetteer* p. 237.

was not, as will be seen in the next chapter, destined to be permanent.

The opening of the thirteenth century saw the Turkish forces engaged against the last surviving imperial Rajputs, the Chandellas of Bundelkhand.

Occupation
of Kalinjar.

Their northern boundary touched the Muslim dominion; the occupation of Benares and Asni must have affected their security, for predatory raids in the neighbouring countries was a favourite exercise with the Turkish militarists. Latent hostilities in any case culminated in an open attack, in 599/1202-3, on Kalinjar, the military capital of Paramardideva. The Chandellas offered strong resistance on the field but on being defeated were compelled to take refuge in the fort. As the siege dragged on and became effective, Paramardideva opened negotiations and offered to accept a tributary vassalage. Before he could execute his agreements, however, he died and the negotiations fell through. His chief minister, Ajayadeva, withdrew the offer and relying on the supply of water from a hillside spring, recommenced hostilities. The Turks, discovering the source of his strength, found means to divert the water-course and thus compelled him to sue for terms. Being allowed to evacuate the fortress, the Chandellas withdrew to the neighbouring stronghold of Ajaigarh. Kalinjar, Mahoba and Khajuraho were then occupied and grouped into a military division under the command of Hasan Arnal¹.

Under Malik Husamuddin Ughulbak, the commander of the Benares and Awadh division, was

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 185b; *Fakhre Mudir*, p. 25; *Cf. Cunningham: Reports*, II, p. 456 who erroneously asserts that Kalinjar was attacked twice, in 1196 and again in 1202.

employed a Khalji troop-leader, named Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtiyar¹ for reconnoissance work in the adjacent territories. Refused service both in Ghazni and Delhi for his ungainly figure², Bakhtiyar, however, soon proved himself to be possessed of great daring and resourcefulness. He was assigned the villages of 'Bhagwat and Bhiuli' by whose income he soon collected a band of adventurers, mostly drawn from the Khalji tribesmen living on the eastern border of Afghanistan. With these he commenced raids on the Magadha region east of the Karmanasa river where, after the fall of the Gahdvalas, as has been shown above, but little organised opposition could be encountered. By frequent raids into the district of Maner Bakhtiyar earned fame and also wealth to augment his military resources. He even pushed as far as Uddandapur Vihar, the monastic university town which gave its name to the country around⁴.

Emboldened by success in these raids Bakhtiyar obtained Aibak's commendation for a final attack on the monastic town⁵. Minhaj speaks of the fort (*Hisar* and *Qalah*) of Bihar, although it is extremely uncertain if it possessed any

¹ I prefer this simpler form of the name as found in the printed text and also in the B.M.Mss. of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, in spite of Raverty's craze for the *izafat* inserted between Muhammad and Bakhtiyar, as a substitute for *bin*.

² Minhaj, p. 146-7. A different version, given in the footnote, would imply Bakhtiyar's employment after his rejection at Ghazni, under the *Muqti* of Kanouj. Isami, however, refers to Bakhtiyar's first employment under 'Jaisingha of Jitur' (Chitor!); p. 95.

³ The printed text has *Sahlat* and *Sahli*, but Raverty's reading has been generally upheld; Hodivala: *Studies in Indo-Moslem History*, p. 206. Ferishta and the *TA* (I, p. 202, and I, p. 47 respectively) have "Kampilah and Patilah near Budson". The mistake is due to phonetic resemblance with *Patitah* and *Kuntilah* which, like *Bhagwat* and *Bhiuli*, are situated close to each other in the neighbourhood of Chunar; Cunningham: *Reports*, XI, p. 128.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 147. For Uddandapurdesa, see Cunningham: *Reports*, III, p. 118; VIII, p. 75; XI, p. 185. One of these early raids on Uddandapur is probably referred to by Taranath who talks of the *Turushkas* being defeated; Samaddar: *Glories of Magadh*, p. 131-32.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 147.

effective military force. The citadel containing the university proper seems, in any case, to have been defended by some sort of armed men, the majority of whom, however, were the "shavenheaded" *Sramanas*, (Bhuddhist monks) whom the Muslims mistook for Brahmins¹. But it only resulted in their being put to the sword, for Bakhtiyar with his two hundred well-armed fighters, easily captured the town. Too late he learnt, on being apprised of the large number of books stored there, of the real nature of the place². According to the 15th century Tibetan chronicler Taranath, Bakhtiyar on this occasion also captured the monastery towns of Vikramsila and Nalanda and erected a fortress on the site of Uddandapur³.

The date of this event, important as it is for the chronology of the subsequent conquest of Bengal, is not found in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and has only to be inferred from the sequence of events⁴. Occupation of the area brought the Turks to the Sena frontier; and yet, showing a shortsightedness characteristic of the contemporary Hindu strategists, they made no move to throw them out of Bihar or to strengthen their own frontier defence. Their very passivity was thus an invitation to the adventurous Khalji troop-leader. After the capture of

¹ Minhaj, p. 148. Cf. Banerji: *Banglar Itihasa*, I, p. 252-53, who thinks it was Govindapala, then ruling in the districts round Uddandapur, Nalanda and Vikramsila, who was killed on this occasion by Bakhtiyar's forces. Cf. with this view *JASB*, 1921, p. 14, and Ray: *Dynastic History* I, p. 369. On the point of the *Sramanas* offering resistance see Taranath, quoted in Samaddar, *op cit.* p. 26, and 148.

² There is no evidence for Banerji's statement that the books were all destroyed; *op. cit.* I, p. 322. See Minhaj, p. 148.

³ *Id.*, IV, p. 366-7.

⁴ Fakhre Mudir, p. 25, mentions the conquest of Bidur (Bihar) in 600/1203-4; Hasan Nizami, *op. cit.* f. 176b, states that after his conquest of Kalinjar in 599/1202-3, while at Budaun Aibak received Bakhtiyar who came 'from the direction of Udandbihar'. This is also alluded to in Minhaj, p. 147 and 150. On this date of 599 in the *Tajul Maasir*, see Raverty: *op. cit.* Appendix D.

Uddandapur Bakhtiyar visited Aibak and received commissions for further conquests but evidently no material reinforcement. The report of a rich demoralised country ruled by an almost incapacitated old man living a retired life and given to letters, decided his next move. A full-scale invasion of the Sena kingdom was beyond his resources; he could only aim at destroying the Sena morale by a lightning raid on the king's residence. He would gain prestige and, what is more, the wherewithal for bigger attacks in future; with luck, he might even obtain a defensible footing in the country.

"A year after" his success in Bihar, i.e. about 1204-5¹, Bakhtiyar accordingly set out on his second adventure in the lower Ganges valley. Taking the available forces

with him he marched so swiftly through the unfrequented and difficult Jharkhand region in south Bihar, that "not more than eighteen horsemen could keep pace with him"². Mistaken as a horsedealer and hurting no one on the way, he had an easy and unopposed march to the very gates of Lakshmanasena's residence at Nadia, or as Minhaj calls it Nodia. The king was reported to have just sat down to his midday meal when the uproar at the gate, occasioned by the horsedealers' cutting down the guards, caused him to sense danger and prepare for flight. As

¹ Bakhtiyar's capture of Uddandapur Bihar nearly synchronised with that of Kalinjar by Aibak which is dated 1203 by Hasan Nizami; *Tajul Maasir*, f. 176b. Fakhre Mudir also seems to refer to Bihar under the year 1203 which he assigns for the capture of Bidur (?); *Tarikh*, p. 25. Next year, according to Minhaj, p. 150, would bring us to 1204. In 1203 and 1205/6 (25th and 27th year) Lakshmanasena was issuing grants from Dharyagrama, possibly on the Bhagirathi; *JASB*, 1942 pp. 70-72. In March 1206 Bakhtiyar's army was destroyed on the Barnadi bridge; see *infra*, p. 77. Lakshmanasena was certainly alive in 1206 as is proved from the preface to the *Saduktibarnamrita*; see Ray: *Dynastic History*, I, p. 374. To date the event earlier, would conflict with Minhaj's statement that the Sena King 'died in Bang soon after the sack of Nodia'. See, however, *DHB*, I, pp. 223-24, 232 and 247.

² Minhaj, p. 150.

the raiders entered the palace he hurriedly left by a postern door and fled along the river to the safety of his eastern province. The king's flight decided the issue; before his troops could recover from the surprise and really to action, Bakhtiyar's main force arrived and resistance became useless¹.

The ease with which the king was put to flight and the city occupied, must have surprised even Bakhtiyar himself. The story of 'the 18 horsemen defeating a great king' has, at any rate, evoked sceptical comments from a great number of patriotic scholars². Minhaj's veracity has been questioned and arguments have been advanced to reduce the account to sheer myth. There is however, little need to feel apologetic for the supposed cowardice of the Sena king; even were he really so, to consider his conduct as typical of the Bengali people would be historically incorrect. Hasty, and what ungenerous critics would call, shameful flights have been the lot of even greater men and admittedly heroic peoples. Rajput recklessness has an element of romance in it but of little practical wisdom. Nor is it possible to reject the story altogether. To dismiss it on the ground, as Mr. Banerji did, that the Hindu accounts never speak of Nodia or Navadwip as a Sena capital or that 'Rai Lakhmania' cannot be identical with Lakshmanasena who, in Mr. Banerji's view, had long been dead, is to base positive history on negative argument. For Bakhtiyar's occupation of a portion of the Sena kingdom following his raid on Nadia is an undisputed fact. It is true, one cannot claim a literal accuracy for Minhaj's account, but the results of recent research certainly do not strengthen Mr. Banerji's

¹ Minhaj, p. 150-51.

² See for example, Vaidya: *op. cit.* I, pp. 126-29; Banerji, *op. cit.* I, p. 324-25; *Indian Culture*, 1935, pp. 133-36.

arguments'. There is, on the other hand, little improbability in the story, for Bengal from all accounts presented not many elements of strength. A Brahmin ridden, disintegrated society, with a king whose youthful valour and military energy had given way to a supine addiction to religion and poetry, a top-heavy, hollow administration, and with vassals finding strength to declare independence², Lakshmanasena's kingdom was anything but a force that could put up sustained frontal resistance. The *Turushka* had become a bogey and everywhere inspired a paralysing fear. The superstitious "prophecy" about the "long armed Turushka" eventually destroying the Sena kingdom is perhaps an over statement; the king's refusal to fly with his frightened courtiers from the threatened zone³ shows that rational courage had not entirely taken leave of him. But the apprehension of an impending catastrophe was undoubtedly felt; epigraphic evidence shows that the king in his 25th year (1203) performed a great sacrifice to propitiate the gods for help in averting it⁴. Every fresh advance of the Turk only deepened this fear and destroyed self-confidence. The easy success of Bakhtiyar's noon-day attack thus needs no other explanation. Boldly led surprise attacks can paralyse even more courageous and well prepared forces; it is to be noted that the city of Nadia was occupied only after the main force had arrived.

The occupation was presumably intended to be temporary; a permanent stay in Lower Bengal would

¹ A fuller discussion will be found in *DHB*, I, pp. 230-238; also 242-246.

² See *IHQ*, X, p. 321, for a grant found in the Sundarbans area of an independent ruler, named Samanta Madommanapala, dated Saka 1118/1196. Or the Sena administration, see Ray, N.R., *Banglar-Hindu Rajattver Abashan*; *Chaturanga*, B.S. 1350, No. 3.

³ Minhaj, p. 150.

⁴ *JEASBL*, 1942 p. 17-21. The ceremony called *Aindri Mahasanti* is performed only to avert great calamities.

have undoubtedly strained Bakhtiyar's resources and communications. The Ganga dynasty in Orissa was a reputedly great power; the Sena army was still intact and could not be expected to retire without a struggle. A place nearer his base in Bihar would offer greater security and freedom of expansion. Bakhtiyar accordingly sacked Nadia and retreating northwards took up his quarters at Lakhnauti (Lakshanavati), the western capital of the Senas, on the Ganges, near the present site of Gour, in the district of Maldah¹. His calculations proved correct, for over the Rarh country including Nadia, Hindu rule continued for the next fifty years; a grant of Lakshmanasena himself, dated in 1205, was issued from the place which seems to answer the description of Nadia². Minhaj states that 'Lakhmania', like his panicky courtiers,—'Brahmans and the Shahas' (merchants)—'retired to the country of Sanknat and the towns of Bang and Kamrud', where he soon after died. Sanknat is perhaps a mispronunciation for Sankat or Sankakot, a stronghold of the *baniks* (merchants) in the twelfth century³ and situated not very far from Vikrampur where Lakshmanasena's dynasty is archaeologically known to have ruled for three generations.

Bakhtiyar's hold was thus over a very small portion of north Bengal from where, according to a later genealogical work, he drove away Lakshmanasena's son⁴.

Extent of
Muslim hold.

To watch the southwestern frontier towards Orissa he established a military

¹ *IGI*, XII, p. 18; *JASB*, (N.S.), II, p. 282.

² *JRASBL*, 1942, p. 71-72.

³ Minhaj, p. 150-51. Cf. Ferishta, II p. 282, who interprets it as Jagannath, in Orissa. As a place of religious sanctity Jagannath came into existence only in the first quarter of the 13th century. For Sankakot see Dutta: *Vaishyas in medieval Bengal*, *IHQ*, 1940, p. 705-6.

⁴ *JASB*, 1896, p. 20.

outpost at Lakhanor, identified with Nagar in Birbhum district, on the route connecting Orissa with Bihar¹. On the northeast he established a similar station at Deokot (Devkot), modern Damdama, near Gangarampur in Dinajpur district. The area, contained within these points, thus comprised parts of Maldah, Dinajpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum districts, on the two sides of the Ganges called, as noticed by Minhaj, Rarh and Varendri (*Ral and Barind*), with the western border running along the Tista-Karatoya basin, the former then flowing in a more westerly channel than at present².

Bakhtiyar's ambitions allowed him no rest. Within two years from the raid on Nadia he began making preparations for a third adventure, an expedition to the northeast, to conquer "Tibet and China"³. On the face of it, it was a mad project; but the founder of Muslim rule in Bengal should, perhaps be credited with some calculating sense. Minhaj possibly hints at the real purpose of the expedition when he speaks of the trading routes, numbering about 35, that carried a brisk traffic in Tangan horses from "Karam Battan" (possibly Kumrikotah in Bhutan) and "Tibet" to Kamrup and thence to the districts of North Bengal⁴. Bengal being particularly deficient in horses, Bakhtiyar

Invasion of
"Tibet."

¹ Minhaj, p. 157, has "Lakhnauti" but its direction is indicated by its being coupled with Jajnagar. For its location, see Stewart: *History of Bengal*, p. 62, who identifies it with Nagar in Birbhum, about 85 miles S. W. of Lakhnauti, Banerji: *History of Orissa*, I, p. 248, supports it; Cunningham also seemed to accept the identification—*Reports*, VIII, p. 146, but later he became doubtful; *op. cit.* XV, p. 44. Mr. Chakravarti: *JASB*, (N.S.) V, p. 214-15, was inclined to place it somewhere in modern Murshidabad district. Lakhanor doubtless lay towards the south west on the Orissa frontier. Minhaj's statement that Devkot and Lakhanor were both equidistant from Lakhnauti would tend to support Stewart's identification.

² For changes in its course, see *DHB*, I p. 5-6.

³ Minhaj, p. 152.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 154.

may reasonably have desired to obtain a monopoly of this imported breed. In undertaking it, however, he overstepped his limit. Having posted his lieutenant Muhammad Sheran to watch the frontier at Lakhnor, and securing the services of a converted Koch guide, he set out with ten thousand horsemen. From Lakhnauti he arrived, according to Minhaj, at Bardhankuti whence for ten days he marched northwards along the river, named Bangmati, "three times as broad as the Ganges". He must have crossed the river and followed the Brahmaputra to be able to arrive at a place, in the hills, where there was a stone bridge spanning a river. At this spot, where his guide left him, he received a message from the king of Kamrup requesting him to postpone the expedition till next year when he would aid him with his forces¹. Paying no heed to the counsel, he left a detachment of troops under two officers to guard the bridge and crossed over into the hills. Pushing through the mountain defiles he arrived, on the 16th day, at the "open country of Tibet". The hazardous march, coupled with the alarming news of the imminent approach of "50,000, well-armed Turks" from the nearest fort of Karambatan, as well as a severe but indecisive battle with the local garrison, damped the spirit of his troops and he decided to return. The retreat was marked by terrible hardship, for the hill people destroyed every food and forage along the route. On reaching the bridgehead, he found it broken by the Kamrup forces who had been waiting to strike; his officers, quarrelling among themselves, had been driven off. Thus forced to halt, Bakhtiyar sought temporary shelter in a temple near by, while arrangements were started for the construction of rafts. But to his alarm he soon noticed that the Kamrup forces, lying hidden in

¹ Minhaj, p. 153.

Destruction
of his army.

the vicinity, were planning to entrap him within a bamboo stockade which began quickly to rise all round the temple. Bakhtiyar acted promptly and dashed out. On being driven to the edge of the water, the whole army threw itself into the river desperately hoping to find it fordable. It, however, proved deep with a strong current which carried away most of the troops; Bakhtiyar managed to reach the opposite bank with only a hundred followers¹. There he was met by his guide who brought him back to Devkot, a man crushed by the weight of the disaster.

Bakhtiyar's route on this expedition and the incidental details have long been a matter of controversy. While Bardhankuti (Bardhankot) still bears the name², the river "Bangmati" has been difficult to identify. The identification of the stone bridge with the Silhako, discovered over the Barnadi flowing into the Brahmaputra, however, furnished a broad indication of the route. The recent discovery of a Sanskrit inscription opposite Gauhati, recording the destruction of a Turushka force in March, 1206, conclusively settles the question³.

At Devkot Bakhtiyar sank rapidly under the weight of his grief. A mortal affliction seized and confined him

¹ Minhaj, p. 156.

² It is 20 miles from Bogra, on the Karatoya.

³ For the views of Raverty and Blochmann, both of whom led the expedition through Sikkim into Darjeeling, see (a) *Trans. Tab. Nas.*, pp. 561-65, note, and (b) *JASB*, 1875, p. 283. For the Silhako bridge, discovered by Col. Hannay, see *JASB*, 1851, pp. 29-94. The inscription at the spot known as the *Kanaibadasibaoa*, was first noticed in Bhattacharya: *Kamarupa Sasanabali*, pp. 27-44. It refers to the Turks as "Samagatyē", "who had come", and not "invaded". The best contribution to the whole question of Bakhtiyar's route is by Bhattachali: *IHQ*, 1927, pp. 49, sq. The name Begmati or Bangmati creates some doubt, for no Bengal river bears that name; but solution may lie in supposing that Minhaj erroneously transferred the name of Rangamati (Bangmati being a likely clerical slip), an ancient place on the bend of Brahmaputra to the Karatoya. Alternatively, Barnadi might have become Bangmati; a recent

to bed until one of his own lieutenants, named Ali Mardan, secretly drove a knife through his sick body. The disaster and pitiful end of his career almost coincided with a similar event in another corner of the Turkish state¹

In describing Muizzuddin's campaigns in Central Asia, mention has been made of his plans to retrieve the defeat at Andhkhud. The defeat soon spread the rumour of his death which became the signal for a general rising among the turbulent tribes inhabiting the western provinces of his Indian empire. Even one of his lieutenants, named Aibakbak, deserting from the battlefield of Andhkhud came to Multan, killed the governor and established his independent authority there². News of this disloyalty soon spread and its occurrence was considered a sufficient proof of Muizzuddin's death. A chief of the Salt Range, named Raisal³ allying himself with the Khokar and other tribes⁴ living on the region through which the Lahore-Ghazni route passed, began plundering the districts between the Chinab and the Jhelum and even prepared to capture Lahore⁵. The roads being thus cut off by the rising, no revenue from the Punjab could be sent to Ghazni. The local

Muizzuddin's
death.

suggestion is that the Nepal river Bangmati may once have flowed, as did the Kosi, into Bengal and joined the Karatoya.

¹ Minhaj, p. 157.

² *Tajul Maasir*, f. 178b. An allusion to this incident is made by Minhaj, p. 122, who, however, calls the deserter Hussain Kharail. See *Guzidah*, I, p. 411-2, from whom Ferishta, I, p. 59, copied the story of another of Muizzuddin's officers, named, Iladgiz, who on this occasion occupied Ghazni itself.

³ Ibnul Asir, XII, p. 96, says he was converted to Islam on a previous occasion. The *Tajul Maasir*, f. 180, mentions Bakan and Sarka, sons of Khokar, possibly implying two subdivisions of the Khokars.

⁴ Fakhre Mudir, p. 27, names the tribes who raised the rebellion as "Siana (Sahi? Rose: *Glossary of the Punjab tribes*, III, p. 394); Jamuna (*ibid.*, II, p. 325), Harhara (Haras? *ibid.*, p. 327) and Nahuna. On the Khokars and their supposed conversion to Islam mentioned by Ferishta, I, p. 59-60, see App. C.

⁵ Ibnul Asir, XII, p. 97.

officers having failed to quell the rising which seriously interfered with his plans, Muizzuddin decided to deal with it himself. Directing Aibak to join him on the Jhelum, he set out for the Punjab and on the river, was opposed by the rebels. They fought with desperate courage but were overpowered. A large number was killed or captured, while the rest took refuge in a hill-fort near by. On its being reduced the next day, some fled to the nearest forest only to perish miserably when it was set on fire.

Before his return Muizzuddin, accompanied by Aibak, came to Lahore to settle its affairs. Giving Aibak leave to depart for Delhi, he left the city and on the way back to Ghazni, halted on the Indus at a place called Damyak, and pitched his tent on a cool, grassy plot on the edge of the water. There, while engaged in the evening prayers, he met his death at the hands of an assassin, on the 3rd *Shaban*, 602/ March 15th, 1206¹. Some of the contemporary writers ascribe the murder to the *Mulahida*, a term applied not only to the *Qaramitah* and Ismaili Shias but also, sometimes, to non-Muslims²; others specifically mention the *Khokars*³. Both the people had reason to be hostile to him and probably both participated in the crime⁴.

There could be no two opinions as to the place Muizzuddin should occupy in history. Unlike Mahmud of Ghazni he was a practical statesman; of the rotten

¹ *Tajul Maasir* f. 198a; Minhaj, p. 124.

² *Tajul Maasir*, f. 197b; Minhaj, *idem*; *T.M.*, p. 12; Haji Dabir, II, p. 602. See also Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 458, note.

³ *Guzida*, I, p. 412; Juwaini, I, p. 59; *Mirat-i-Jahan Numa*: Or. 1898, f. 50a; *T.A.*, I, p. 40.

⁴ Ibnul Asir, XII, p. 99, states that when the assassins were secured two among them were found to be Muslims (circumcised); this would imply that among them were others who were not Muslims, the deed being a joint *Qaramitah-Khokar* affair.

Estimate.

political structure of India he took the fullest advantage. As in the founder of the Mughal empire, his sovereign quality lay in the steadfast determination with which he pursued his objective and in his refusal to accept a defeat as final. Against his far more gifted rival, the Khwarizm Shah¹, his Central Asian empire, it is true, could have had only an ephemeral existence. But as in the case of Babar, his Indian conquests survived. If he failed to found a dynasty, he yet trained up a band of men who were to prove more loyal to his ideals and better fitted to maintain his empire. In choice of men he displayed a singular talent, for to slaves like Aibak, Yalduz, and Tughril he owed most of his success. His almost annual campaigns from the Jaxartes to the Jumna display a military talent of no mean order. His military pre-occupations probably left him little leisure for aesthetic recreations, but he was not indifferent to learning and scholarship. The celebrated philosopher and *savant*, Fakhruddin Razi, and the famous classical poet Nizami Uruzi adorned the Ghoriid court and have paid deserving tributes to the mental qualities of their friend and patron².

¹ Cf. Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 339 and 352, for an estimate of his statesmanship compared to that of the Khwarizm Shah.

² Fakhruddin Razi dedicated one of his works—the *Lataif-ul Ghiyasi*, to Muizzuddin's elder brother, Nizami Uruzi was a great friend of Alaiddin, the "world-burner", and lived in the Ghor court down to the reigns of Ghiyasuddin and Muizzuddin; *Chahar Maqala*, intr. Another reputed litterateur enjoying Muizzuddin's patronage was Fakhruddin Mubarakshah the author, among others, of a voluminous book of genealogies and a versified history of the Shansabani dynasty. His father was also an eminent divine and attended the court of Firozkoh; see *Ajaib Nama*, E. G. Browne presentation volume, p. 393-94. and 409; also *Minhaj*, p. 27.

CHAPTER IV

THE DELHI SUITANATE

1206-1235

Muizuddin's sudden death placed his officers in India in a difficult situation. The Delhi government was far from well-established; want of common loyalty

A difficult situation.

now threatened to intensify personal jealousies. Aftermaths of the late rising still rendered communications unsafe with Ghazni which, in any case, now seemed an easy prey to the aggressive Khwarizm Shah. By far the most serious menace came from the Hindus whose military power, only stunned by the rapidity of the conquest, now showed signs of recovery and even of offensive action. Already, by 1206, Kalinjar had been recovered and the Chandella king appeared effectively to stop further expansion in the south¹. In the Gangetic plain numerous chiefs still held out in open defiance². Gahdvala rule was still a reality, for Haris-chandra found means to establish himself in the districts of Farrukhabad and Budaun³. Even the Pariharas appeared to have regained their initiative and recovered Gwalior which had to be reconquered several years

¹ Inscriptions of Trailokyavarma, Paramardideva's successor, refer to his expelling the Turks from his kingdom; *EI*, I, p. 327. In his earliest inscription, dated in 1206, recording the grant of land to an officer whose father had lost his life in fighting the Turks, he is called "Lord of Kalinjar"; *EI*, XVI, p. 273. The fortress is not mentioned again by Minhaj, until a few years later when we hear of expeditions sent against the "Rai of Kalinjar."

² One of these, Maharajaka Pratapadeva of Japila, in an inscription dated V. S. 1279/1223 A.D. discovered in the Mirzapur district, refers to his destruction of the "*Javana*"; *EI*, IV, pp. 310-312.

³ *Ben: History of the Rathors in Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, p. 265.

later.¹ In the east, a terrible disaster had befallen the Muslim arms and the two-year old possession of Lakhnauti, rendered insecure by distance and by Khalji factiousness, promised to be a heavy liability. The Turks had overrun the whole of north India, but on Muizzuddin's death found themselves in effective possession only of Sind and parts of the Punjab and the Gangetic valley with Rajput resistance increasing in extent.

The situation called for quick action and unified command. Muizzuddin left no son; his nephew in possession of Ghor, showed no promise of leadership or of energetic action. With the Khwarizm Shah menacingly advancing to Ghazni and Ghor, political foresight demanded severance of Delhi's connection with the trans-Indus state. Among Muizzuddin's officers three held important commands and nourished ambitions of sovereignty. Tajuddin Yalduz, held Karman and Sankuran on the route from Afghanistan to upper Sind, and was widely believed to have been marked out for the viceroyalty of Ghazni proper. Another equally favoured slave was Nasiruddin Qubachah¹, a son-in-law of Yalduz and lately appointed to hold charge of Uch. By far the most capable and devoted of his slaves was Qutbuddin Aibak. Purchased early in life, he was noted for intrepidity and munificence, and had earned his master's confidence to be placed, as noticed above, after the victory of Tarain, in charge of his Indian conquests. Latterly, as Muizzuddin's representative, he exercised from Delhi the functions of a viceroy and commander of all the military forces stationed in the

¹ Raverty, *op. cit.* p. 581, note 8, argues at great length that the name should really be pronounced as Kabajah, but the above form is confirmed in Hindi script on one of his coins; *JASB*, 1887, p. 171.

realm¹. In 1206 he was formally invested with viceregal powers and promoted to the rank of *malik*².

It was therefore a fulfilment of his master's wish when, in response to the invitation of the Lahore citizens, he came from Delhi and assumed sovereign power. His formal accession took

Qutbuddin Aibak place on the 17th *zilqad*, 602/June 24th, 1206³, more than three months after Muizuddin's death, an interval that must have been occupied by manœuvres to build up a party of supporters. Technically he was still a slave for, although Ghiyasuddin Mahmud from Ghor sent him the royal insignia and standard and also conferred the title of *Sultan*⁴, his formal manumission was not obtained till 605/1208; in inscriptions no higher titles are used with his name than *Malik and Sipahsalar*⁵. The statement that 'coins were struck and the *khutbah* read in his name throughout Hindusthan' must be taken as a conventional phrase emphasising his sovereign power, for no silver or billon coin of his has yet been discovered⁶.

Aibak's was a short reign and foreign affairs occupied most of his time. Yalduz possessed himself of Ghazni and commenced playing a diplomatic game with both Ghiyasuddin Mahmud and the Khwarizm Shah. The latter, having swallowed the whole of Iran and Central

¹ He appointed Hasan Arsal to the command of Kol; *Tajul Maasir*, f. 26b. His appointment of Bakhtiyar to the *iqta* of Bihar clearly shows his status.

² Fakhre Mudir: *Tarikh*, p. 28. See also *TA*, I, p. 47. *Tajul Maasir*, f. 83, implies that he was appointed to the viceroyalty as early as 1193.

³ Fakhre Mudir: *Tarikh*, p. 30, and 32; Minhaj, p. 140.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 90 and 140; *TM*, p. 14; cf. *TA*, I, p. 42.

⁵ *ELM*, 1911-12, p. 2.

⁶ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 202a; Minhaj, 141. Rodgers, *JRAS*, 1894, nos. 37-40, ascribed four copper pieces to Aibak; they bear the appellation *al-Qutbi*; see on these coins, Wright, p. 69, who thinks they should be ascribed to the Karman mint.

Asia, now cast covetous eyes on Ghazni. To make matters worse for Aibak, by virtue of his possessing the capital of Muizzuddin's empire, Yalduz now laid claim to the whole of his master's dominions including Delhi. Unless vigorously resisted, this claim would mean not only a negation of Delhi's sovereignty but also an extension of the Khwarizm Shah's ambitions of conquest to India. The situation in the northwest had thus to be closely watched and other affairs had to yield to the urgency of this problem. In such a context Aibak's continued residence in Lahore from where he is reported to have never moved, becomes intelligible¹.

Yalduz was no match for the Khwarizm Shah. The latter had partisans in Ghazni whose citizens were notoriously fickle in their attachments. In 605/1208, hard pressed by the Khwarizm Shahi faction at his court, Yalduz was compelled to leave the city and withdraw towards the Punjab. What Aibak had foreseen, now came to pass ; it was now imperative to forestall the Khwarizm Shah and occupy the city. A party of its citizens also suddenly felt an affection for him and sent an invitation. Yalduz in any case could not be allowed to find refuge in the Punjab, and was therefore promptly driven out to his former possessions in "Karman and Sankuran". Aibak then moved up to Ghazni to occupy it. Judging from the sequel, the step was obviously taken in haste and was militarily ill-supported. Within forty days the citizens conceived a dislike for his rule—he had no direct association with them for many years—and Yalduz once again became a favourite. On the latter advancing unexpectedly,

¹ For details of Yalduz's overtures to Khiya and Ghor, see Minhaj, pp. 89-96; Khwand Amir: *Rauzat-us-Safa*, IV, p. 126-17. For Aibak's problems see Firishta, I, p. 63.

Aibak was obliged to beat a hurried retreat¹. The venture thus did little to improve the situation and now Yalduz's enmity added to his anxiety.

He was thus in no position to resume offensive military action against the Rajputs. Even the affairs in Lakhnauti, urgent in themselves, could engage only his passing attention. The least that Bakhtiyar's murder had threatened to do there was to sever Delhi's connection and split the province into small, mutually jealous units. Having siezed and imprisoned the murderer, Ali Mardan, the Khalji chiefs proceeded to elect Muhammad Sheran to the chieftaincy who was pledged to acknowledge little subordination to Delhi². Ali Mardan escaped from confinement, and making his way to Delhi, persuaded Aibak to intervene in the Lakhnauti affairs. On proceeding thither to establish order the Delhi agent Qaimaz Rumi, however, met with blank refusal on the part of the Khaljis to recognise his authority. In Husamuddin Iwaz, one of the Khalji chiefs, Rumi, however, found a willing tool and left him at Devkot to hold temporary charge of the province. On the agent's departure Iwaz was immediately turned out; whereupon Rumi returned and reinstated him but only after a severe struggle with Sheran and his party³. Ali Mardan eventually induced Aibak to appoint him governor over the province where he was soon to commence a reign of terror⁴.

This imposition of its authority over the eastern

¹ *Tajol Maasir*, f. 202a; Minhaj, p. 140, also p. 90. Cf. Ferishta, I, p. 63, who places the event in 603/1207.

² Minhaj, p. 158; Cf. *TA*, I, p. 51.

³ Sheran was soon after killed in a quarrell with his party and was buried near "Maksida and Santosh" near Mahiganj on the Atrai; *JASB*, 1875, p. 284. Cf. *Alfi*, f. 616a, which states that he was killed in a battle with the Hindu rajas.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 159.

province was but a poor consolation, for the Delhi state at the moment needed political security more than suzerain status. When Aibak died in

Aibak's death: 607/1210, of injuries received in a fall
an estimate.

from his horse while playing *chaugan*¹, the clouds on the northwest were gathering thick and fast. He read the portents and did his best to preserve Delhi's separate entity. A military leader of great energy and high merit, he combined the intrepidity of the Turk with the refined taste and generosity of the Persian; extreme liberality earned him the epithet of "*Lakh Buksh*" (giver of lakhs), while, characteristically enough, his killing is also said to have been by lakhs². Both Hasan Nizami and Fakhre Mudir found in him an appreciative patron and dedicated their works to him³. On two occasions, at least, he interceded with his master for the vanquished Hindu princes⁴. It hardly needs emphasising that to his untiring exertion and devoted service Muizzuddin owed most of his success in India. For he merely supplied the motive power; Aibak was responsible for the detailed planning and initiation of the Delhi state.

On his death the officers at Lahore raised his son Aram Shah to be their chief. But the step was not supported at Delhi where the citizens headed by the chief magistrate, "invited" Iltutmish, the governor of Budaun and a son-in-law of Aibak, to assume the crown. Backed by the Lahore faction, Aram thereupon marched against Delhi but Iltutmish found it

¹ *Ibid*, p. 141; *TM*, p. 15; Cf. *Mirat-i-Jahan Numa*, f. 53, which places his death in 609/1212, whereas Aibak's latest inscription is dated *Ramzan*, 607/1210.

² *Minhaj*, p. 138.

³ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 7 b; Fakhre Mudir: *Tarikh*, p. 72. *Minhaj* states that before taking service under Muizzuddin Aibak had acquired proficiency in literature.

⁴ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 143b and 194b.

easy to defeat and possibly slay him. Aram's reign, devoid of any other recorded interest, lasted not more than eight months¹.

Iltutmish at last became master of the Delhi state but the schism had an adverse effect on the outlying areas of its attenuated dominion. In Lakhnauti, Ali

Mardan assumed independent sovereign status and began to behave like an emperor². Qubachah occupied Multan and extended his dominions to include Bhatinda, Kuhram and Sar-suti; and on Aram's death even possessed himself of Lahore³. Rajput chiefs withheld tribute and repudiated allegiance. The small Chauhana principality of Jalor, whom Aibak had forced to submission, declared independence; Ranthambhor, given as an appanage to Prithviraja's son, also ceased to acknowledge vassalage.

The new king's position was too insecure to enable him to take action at once; he did not feel safe enough to assume even sovereign dignity. Realist as he was, he found it wiser to compromise for the time being, and accept the regal insignia—the canopy and the mace—from Yalduz who, now that Aibak was dead, felt free to push his claims of suzerainty⁴. A great peril confronted Iltutmish when

¹ Minhaj, p. 141; *TM*, p. 16; *TA*, I, p. 55. Raverty argues that he was Aibak's adopted son, for which, however, no authentic evidence is available. See also Haji Dabir, II, p. 686. Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 589, note 4, on the supposed evidence of an anonymous work, describing the coins of Delhi sultans, entitled *Tafsil-i-Sukka*, f. 8, states that Aram ruled upto 1215. But Iltutmish's earliest coin was issued in 608/1211 and his inscription is dated *Jamadi* I, 608/1211. See *CCIM*, II, intr. p. 6; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 8.

² For his tyrannical rule and insufferable boastfulness see Minhaj, p. 159-60. *TA* I, p. 53, states that he issued coins with the title of sultan Alauddin; no such coin has been discovered.

³ Minhaj, p. 143.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 170; Haji Dabir, II, p. 688, says that Iltutmish entered into an alliance with Yalduz; this is highly improbable unless it refers to his initial acceptance of the regal insignia.

the 'Turkish guards (*jandars*) of Delhi, in alliance with Aram Shah's party, rose in open rebellion and meant to negative his accession. It was only by a sanguinary conflict that they could be dispersed¹. It took him some months' hard and tactful action to extend his authority even in the districts in the immediate vicinity of Delhi, in charge of officers whose ranks were originally equal to his own. Even then his rule does not appear to have been effective beyond Benares on the east and the Siwalikh hills on the west².

His position was further imperilled by the developments in Afghanistan. Yalduz's troops, sometime before 612/1215, succeeded in expelling Qubachah from Lahore and occupying the greater part of Punjab³. While this undoubtedly slackened the latter's hold on Kuhram, Sarsuti and Bhatinda, it constituted a serious menace to Iltutmish, for Yalduz holding the Punjab, meant a direct invitation to the Khwarizm Shah whose annexation of Ghazni was only a question of time. It was a repetition of the problem which had led Aibak to occupy Ghazni. With the example of the latter's failure to hold the city Iltutmish, however, dared not attempt the same solution and thus to cross swords with the mighty Khwarizm Shah. Prudence pointed to a defensive policy and he bided his time. It came soon enough. In 612/1215, Yalduz was finally forced out of Ghazni and fell back on Lahore⁴. He then renewed his claim

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 215-16; Minhaj, p. 170.

² Minhaj, p. 171.

³ *Ibid*, p. 185, 143 and 171. Yalduz's *wazir* who occupied Lahore on this occasion was assassinated at Ghazni just before the Khwarizmi troops took the city in 612/1215.

⁴ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 230b. Farishta, I, p. 65, states that he even marched towards Thanesar.

to overlordship and thus precipitated the struggle for which Iltutmish was now well-prepared. He accordingly marched out, met him on the field of Tarain, defeated and finally captured him¹. The victory completed Aibak's work; the last obstacle to Delhi's independence and to her disengagement from central Asian power-politics was finally eliminated. Delhi became a sovereign state, in fact if not, yet, in theory.

Lahore was not immediately annexed but seems to have been restored to Qubachah; Hasan Nizami hints at an agreement whose alleged breach, in 614/1217, furnished Iltutmish with a *casus belli* to make war and wrest the province². Lahore was evidently in Qubachah's possession when the Delhi forces marched out. As they crossed the Beas, Qubachah took fright and fled to Uch³. Unopposed, Iltutmish occupied Lahore and for the first time placed his own governor there⁴.

This success, however, did not, by any means, secure him the whole of the Punjab. Qubachah remained confined to Sind but it was some years before Iltutmish could annex the territories in the Chinab and Jhelum valleys. Ever since the Khokar rising the districts round the Salt Range had been practically in control of the insurgent tribes. Within three years of the occupation of Lahore, across the Indus came the gust of a storm that had burst in, and was now sweeping across, Central

Jalaluddin Mang-
barni, and the
Mongal eruption.

¹ Minhaj, p. 135; *Tajul Maasir*, f. 232a, states that the battle was fought at Samana. Yalduz, wounded in the battle, was taken captive and died a prisoner at Budann.

² *Tajul Maasir*, f. 241b. Ferishta, adds that Qubachah tried to occupy Sirhind which finally brought Iltutmish against him; I, p. 315.

³ Minhaj, p. 171; *Tajul Maasir*, f. 245. Cf. *TA*, I, p. 58-9.

⁴ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 245a. His eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmud, was placed in charge.

Asia. Issuing from the uplands of Tartary, the Mongols, under Temujin, whose imperial title the Persians pronounce as Chengiz Khan, literally rolled up the vast Khwarizmi empire, and with fire and sword, were now tearing up the great fabric of Islamic civilization in the east. While the Khwarizm Shah was driven to find shelter in the Caspian coast, his crown-prince Jalaluddin Mangbarni, persued relentlessly across Khurasan, could elude him only by crossing over into the Punjab, where Iltutmish was thereby robbed of his recently gained advantage. Mangbarni established himself in the upper Sind Sagar Doab and contracted a matrimonial alliance with the chief of the Salt Range¹. This gave him an excuse as well as help for widening his hold at the expense of Qubachah, with whom the hill chief was in perpetual hostility. Qubachah, in consequence, was practically driven out of the Sind Sagar Doab. Mangbarni's three years' sojourn in western Punjab also effected Iltutmish's hold on the Ravi and Chinab regions. The prince captured the fort of Basraur (Pasraur) in the Sialkot district and tried to support himself by plundering the riverine tracts². He even found it possible to advance upto Lahore whence he appealed to Delhi for shelter³.

Rules of hospitality required only one answer to the request but Iltutmish was a great realist. To reverse Aibak's and his own foreign policy at this stage and to seek the displeasure of a far more terrible power by receiving the fugitive prince, would have been not only

¹ Juwaini, II, p. 145.

² *Ibid*, p. 147. For its identification see Cunningham; *Reports*, XIV, p. 46-47.

³ After Mahmud's transfer to Hansi, no governor is mentioned as having been appointed to Lahore till 1228. When a Mongol force persued Mangbarni in 621/1224, it is said to have plundered the Lahore province; Juwaini, II, p. 112.

unwise but almost suicidal. Mangbarni therefore was given a polite refusal and when he prepared to avenge himself by further aggressions in the Punjab, Iltutmish got ready for military action¹. It did not, however, come to actual fighting, for the prince thought it prudent to turn his attention to Qubachah².

Mangbarni left India in 1224, but western Punjab continued to witness rapid political changes. These changes which extended far beyond Iltutmish's reign,

require a fuller discussion³ and admit
Effects, of only a passing reference here. They

upset Iltutmish's plan of consolidation on the west, but they also helped him to destroy his rival Qubachah⁴. For, the latter had to bear the brunt of Mangbarni's invasion and of its aftermath, which fearfully weakened his power of resistance. Close on the heels of the Khwarizmi fugitive, came the Mongols in his pursuit and reached as far as Multan; then, a mass migration of the Khalji supporters of Mangbarni who appeared like an invading army. Iltutmish had thus the satisfaction of seeing Qubachah nearly crushed by these events; he needed little military exertion to recover Bhatinda, Kuhram and Sarsuti and the tracts along the Hakra river⁵.

¹ Minhaj seems to be evasive in mentioning the incident. On page 293 of Raverty's translation, he states that Iltutmish sent a force against Mangbarni; but on p. 171, text, he says Iltutmish himself led an army against the "Khwarizmshahi trouble which had reached Lahore." This latter statement is copied by Haji Dabir, II, p. 691.

² en-Nessawi, p. 88, however, states that Iltutmish even helped Qubachah with troops, which is highly improbable. Minhaj merely adds that on Iltutmish's approach Mangbarni turned aside.

³ See Chapter IX, *infra*.

⁴ *Tuhfatul Kiram*, f. 262b, mentions the names of seven "ranas" as paying tribute to Qubachah. Among them, from their names, two appear to have belonged to the Rathor and Solanki Rajputs.

⁵ A governor was appointed over Bhatinda some time before 1227; Minhaj, p. 232. He is stated to have encroached on Qubachah's territory and occupied Wanjrut (Vijnat in Bhawalpur state) in the Multan province. Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 723; The printed text has Gujrat for Wanjrut; see also *IA*, 1882, p. 1-9.

Changiz Khan's departure from Afghanistan removed a dominating fear from Iltutmish's mind. With Qubachah struggling against foreign intruders in lower

Destruction
of Qubachah.

Sind he now felt free to reoccupy Lahore¹. Soon after, in 625/1228, he prepared to deliver his final attack.

Directing the governor of Lahore to attack Multan, he himself marched his forces to Uch². Unable to offer frontal resistance Qubachah left a garrison in the town and himself fled to the security of the island fortress of Bhakar in lower Indus³. Uch capitulated after three months' brave defence⁴. Bhakar could not give Qubachah the expected security when a detachment of Delhi troops, commanded by the *wazir*, pressed the siege by cutting it off from the mainland. In desperation he sent his son to Iltutmish to negotiate for terms⁵. The latter demanded his unconditional surrender. This he refused and when the citadel was assaulted, drowned himself in the Indus waters⁶.

With Qubachah thus finally eliminated, the extension of Delhi's unified control was now possible over Muiz-zuddin's west Indian provinces. Multan and Uch were annexed and became governor's provinces. The Sumra ruler of Debal, named Sinanuddin Chanisar, transferred his allegiance to Delhi and was confirmed as a vassal⁷. According to Hasan Nizami, twelve celebra-

Iltutmish's occupation of Sind.

¹ Minhaj, p. 236.

² Minhaj gives conflicting dates for the event; p. 114, 624/1227; pp. 172 and 236, 625/1228; Nuruddin Aufi, the author of the *Jawamiul Hikayat* who was living with Qubachah at this time, confirms the last-mentioned date; f. 3a. See also Haji Dabir, II, p. 696. Cf. Ferishta, I, p. 65, and T.A., II, p. 317. Also *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, f. 31a.

³ Minhaj, p. 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173; see also T.A., I, p. 57.

⁵ *Tajul Maasir*, in Elliot, II, p. 242; Minhaj, p. 144.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 173; Aufi: *op. cit.* f. 4a. He died on the 19th *Jamadi* II, 625/May 26th, 1228.

⁷ Minhaj, p. 173; the Sind histories do not mention the event. See Raverty; *op. cit.* p. 615, note; also Elliot, I, p. 485.

ted fortresses were captured on this occasion and "Siwistan (Sehwan) and Lak (Lakki Pass?) as far as the shores of the ocean came under Iltutmish's authority; coins were struck and the *Khutbah* read in his name as far as Kusdar and Makran"¹. It is doubtful, however, if he could make any immediate headway in the upper Sind Sagar Doab. Besides the area dominated by the unsubdued tribes of the Salt Range, the western part, called Baniyan by the contemporary writers, which originally formed part of Mangbarni's Indian possessions, was now under his lieutenant, Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh, who was to hold it for his master as best as he could². Judging from Mangbarni's alliance with the Salt Range chief, Qarlugh's influence must also have been fairly extensive. In the northeastern Punjab, however, Iltutmish appears to have succeeded in extending his rule upto Sialkot and Janer (Hajner) and possibly also Jullunder, which appear as part of the Delhi kingdom early in Mahmud's reign³.

The Lahore and Multan provinces were however, exposed to the incursions of the hill-tribes and their reduction must have figured in his plans. It is more than probable that the governors were instructed to gradually reduce the Jhelum and Indus tract. The occupation of the stronghold of Nandanah, in the Salt Range, recorded by Minhaj⁴, could only have been the result of such

Progress in
the Punjab.

¹ *Tajul Maasir* in Elliot, II, p. 242.

² en-Nessawi, p. 92. Baniyan is almost always mentioned with Ghazni and Karman and the "country of the Indus"; Minhaj, pp. 238 and 392; also Raverty, *op. cit.* p. 530, note 7.

³ Sialkot and Hajner are listed in his conquests; Minhaj, p. 179. For location of Hajner (written Janjer in the text) see chapter IX *infra*. Jullunder is mentioned on p. 210, for the first time.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 179, where it is included in Iltutmish's conquests; it is called Nardin by Utbi: *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, p. 260; For some years the later Hindu-shahiya kings made it their capital. For its location see Raverty. *op. cit.* p. 534, note 1; *IGJ*, XVIII, p. 349; also Nazim, p. 91.

operations. Kujah, mentioned along with Nandanah as having been placed in charge of malik Aitigin, must also be looked for in the same area and also as a resulting acquisition¹. Iltutmish's last expedition, which illness compelled him to abandon, was projected towards Baniyan². Nevertheless, as will appear from a subsequent discussion, by the time he died, Delhi's hold on western Punjab was far from effective.

In other directions however, he was more successful. After 1225 he could turn his attention to the east where, since Aibak's death Delhi's authority had been completely negated. Ali Mardan's tyranny in Lakhnauti had continued unchecked for two years until his exasperated officers put an end to it by murdering him and raising Husamuddin Iwaz once again to chief authority³. On his accession, which must have occurred shortly after 1211,⁴ Iwaz took the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and assumed full sovereign status⁵. He was a generous and able ruler and undertook a number of public works; one of them, a raised causway connecting Lakhnauti with Lakhanor and Devkot, proved immensely beneficial in the rains and, in some places, is still traceable⁶. Iltutmish's preoccupations left him unmolested⁷. He found means to annex Bihar and

Bengal affairs:
Ghiyasuddin Iwaz.

¹ Minhaj, p. 253.

² *Ibid.*, p. 176; Cf. Haji Dabir, II, p. 699, who thought that it was directed against Khurasan. See also Chapter IX.

³ Minhaj, p. 160.

⁴ Ali Mardan, appointed by Aibak soon after his return from Ghazni, is known to have ruled for two years which, counting from before 607 (the year of Aibak's death), would bring us to a little after 608/1211 or 1212. Cf. on this point *JASB* (N. S.) IV, p. 154.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 161. His earliest coin is dated 616/1219; *JRAS* (N. S.) VI, p. 352.

⁶ For a description see Abid Ali: *Gour and Punduah*.

⁷ Cf. Wright, p. 15-16 nos. 49F, 49H to 49J, who ascribes one gold and a few silver pieces of Iltutmish to the Bengal mint and thus seems to support Thomas, *JRAS*, VI, p. 348, who held that during

also to raid and exact tribute from the neighbouring Hindu states of "Jajnagar, Tirhut, Bang, and Kamrud¹." The chronicles of the Brahmin dynasty of Mithila, however, make no mention of any such raids'. On the southwest also, these expeditions could not have made any appreciable change in the frontier; Anangabhima III (1211-1238), the king of Orissa, in his inscriptions also claims to have vanquished the '*Javanas* of Rarh and Varendri². On the east, across the Karatoya, border conflicts are all that could have taken place with the Sena kings of east Bengal with no positive advantage to either of the combatants³'. The exaction of tribute from Kamrup must refer to occasional raids into the northeastern part of the trans-Karatoya region which, at least from the 13th century, seems to have been included within the geographical term of Kamrup⁴. In north Bihar Iwaz might have exercised some sort of control over part of Bhagalpur district

these years Iwaz must have acknowledged Iltutmish's suzerainty. The ascription, however, is doubtful; the word can also be read as Nagaur as is found in one of his 608 issues: Thomas: *Chronicles* p. 78, no. 59. For Bengal, the word Gour did not come into use until much later; in the chronicles, as well as in the coins, it is always referred to as Lakhnauti. The first undoubted mention of the Bengal mint is found on a *Tanka* of Raziya which bears the name of Lakhnauti; Thomas: *Chronicles*, p. 107 no. 90. No other coin is known to bear Gour as a mint name. Besides, it is hardly probable that Iwaz should have acknowledged Iltutmish when the latter was hardly secure on the throne, and then, as is proved by his coins, to have declared his independence just when the Delhi monarch, freed from all other dangers, was known to be strong enough to enforce his suzerainty.

¹ Minhaj, p. 163.

² For their history, see *JASB*, (N.S.) XI, pp. 406-8; Cunningham: *Reports*, XVI, p. 159.

³ *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317-327; 1903, p. 109; *EI*, XIII, p. 150; *JRAS*, 1915, p. 505-6.

⁴ Two grants of Kesava and Viswarupa, successors of Lakshmanasena, refer to their successful fight with the *Garga Javanas*; *JASB*, 1896, pp. 9-15; (N. S.) X, pp. 99-104.

⁵ Barua: *Early history of Kamrup*, p. 224, states that in 1227 Iwaz advanced along the Brahmaputra upto Gauhati whence he was repulsed with heavy losses. This seems to be based on the inadequate evidence of some of his 621 coins found in Gauhati. See also Bhattacharya: *Mughal Northeast Frontier policy*, p. 55, note, and Gait: *History of Assam*, 37.

through which passed the highway from Delhi to Lakhnauti¹.

As soon as the Mongol threat was lifted, Iltutmish started operations against Iwaz. As a preliminary measure and by a process not recorded in the chronicles, the district of Bihar south of the Ganges was wrested and placed under his own governor². In 622/1225 he finally advanced along the Ganges. Iwaz brought his forces up the river and planned to intercept him in Bihar. No battle however seems to have taken place for an agreement was eventually concluded under the terms of which Iwaz accepted Iltutmish's suzerainty and offered to pay an indemnity³. He also relinquished his claim on Bihar which Iltutmish now placed under Malik Jani⁴. Immediately on the king's return however, Iwaz, who obviously did not mean to keep the agreement, drove out Jani and reasserted independence. Iltutmish thereupon instructed his son, prince Nasir-uddin Mahmud, then the governor of Awadh, to watch for an opportunity to dispossess the Khalji king. It came in 624/1226 when taking advantage of his absence on a campaign in the east, Mahmud suddenly appeared before Lakhnauti and seized the city. Iwaz hurriedly returned, gave battle but was defeated and slain⁵. Lakhnauti thus finally passed under Delhi.

Mahmud ruled the province as his father's deputy until his sudden death, which opened the way for fresh trouble. The circumstances of his death, not detailed by

¹ For the use of this route see Minhaj, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163; Hasan Nizami also seems to refer to this event: Elliot, II, p. 241.

³ Minhaj, p. 163, 171: *Alfi*, however, states that the agreement followed a severe engagement; f. 615. Cf. Salim: *Riyasus-Salatin*, p. 72.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 169.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Fresh troubles
in Lakhnauti.

the chronicler, seem to have had an obvious connection with the subsequent rebellion of a man named Balka Khalji'.

His identity is difficult to establish and Minhaj gives him obscure and even irreconcilable antecedents². Unless he can be proved to be identical with Alauddin Daulat Shah b. Maudud, who issued the unique coin described by Thomas³, Balka, possibly a relation if not the son of Iwaz, should be supposed to have become the leader of the Khalji chiefs, who in their loyalty to the late ruler, considered subordination to Delhi as intolerable. Assuming that the date on Alauddin Daulat Shah's coin has been correctly read as 627/1229, it must have been issued by a man who, on Mahmud's death, assumed regal status and placated Iltutmish by inscribing his name and titles on the obverse and thus acknowledging his suzerainty⁴. To what family and tribe this self-appointed vassal ruler belonged it is immaterial to enquire for the autonomy-loving Khaljis headed by Balka soon ousted him and thus furnished Iltutmish with a pretext for a second invasion of Lakhnauti towards the end of the same year (i.e. 627/ending November 8, 1230)⁵. Balka was defeated and slain;

¹ Minhaj, p. 181.

² *Ibid*, p. 163. He is called Ikhtiyaruddin Balka, but on p. 174, he is simply Balka Malik Khalji. In the list of Iltutmish's maliks one 'Daulat Shah Khalji, malik of Lakhnauti' is mentioned but no Balka; it is unlikely that the rebel would be listed here. Raverty increases the confusion, for he found in two old Mss. of the *Tabaqat*, Ikhtiyaruddin Daulat Shah-i-Balka b. Husamuddin Iwaz, Khalji; others mention one Iran Shah-i-Balka Khalji. It seems we are dealing with two persons here and Daulat Shah, and not Balka, is to be identified with Daulat Shah of Thomas's coin. For this suggestion I am indebted to my pupil and friend Abdul Majid of the Calcutta University.

³ *JRAS.* (N.S.) VI. p. 362, no. 13; also Wright, p. 21, no. 53A. It has many peculiarities; Iltutmish is given the *kunya* of Abdul Fath, whereas all his other coins bear only Abul Muzaffar. Daulat Shah calls himself Shahanshah, unusual for one who acknowledges a suzerain.

⁴ See on this point *JASB* (N.S.) IV., p. 154.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 174. This date is also, like that on the Daulat Shah coin, doubtful, for Raverty found 628 in some of the older manuscripts; Haji Dabir, II, p. 698, however, has 627.

Laknauti and Bihar henceforth became two separate provinces¹.

Taking advantage of the dangers besetting the Delhi Sultanate the Rajputs, all these years, made steady progress in recovering their territories. Mention has been made of the loss of Kalinjar to the Chandellas; inscriptions found near Ajaigarh testify to their continuous occupation of the neighbourhood throughout the century². In Gwalior also, where Iltutmish held his first appointment, local chroniclers detail a continuous Parihara rule upto 1231³; coins and inscriptions of a prince named Malayavarmadeva, belonging to the same family, have been found in Narwar, Gwalior and Jhansi to prove an uninterrupted occupation from at least 1220 to 1233⁴. In Rajputana, the recently independent Chauhana family found it possible to impose its paramountcy over other princes in the north. In an inscription, discovered at Manglana (Jodhpur state) dated in 1215, a local chieftain named Jaitra-sinha, acknowledges Vallanadeva of Ranthambhor as his overlord, though the "*Suratrana* Iltutmish of Joginipur" is also mentioned therein⁵. Iltutmish's name appears (as *Sama-Sorala-deva*) in a coin of another prince calling himself Chaharadeva who, seemingly identical with the author of a fragmentary grant, boasts of his Chauhana descent and appears as ruling

¹ Minhaj, pp. 231 and 242.

² Cunningham: *Reports*, XXI, pp. 49-52.

³ *Gwalior Namah*, f. 10. See also Cunningham: *Reports*, II, pp. 378-81.

⁴ Cunningham: *Reports* II, p. 315; *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 80-90. Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 166. *IA*, 1918, p. 241.

⁵ *IA*, XVI, p. 86. Vallanadeva must be identical with Vallanadeva of the *Hamira maha-kavya*, the son of Govindaraja; *IA*, 1879, p. 62. The latter, a grandson of Prithviraja of Ajmer, is said to have founded the independence of Ranthambhor principality by the force of his own arms.

at Ranthambhor¹. This record, like the Manglana inscription, must belong to the early part of Iltutmish's reign for, latterly, Ranthambhor required armed expedition to enforce his suzerainty. An extension of the power of the Chauhanas of Jalor is also testified to by an inscription of Udaisinha's (Udisah of Hasan Nizami) grandson, in which the former is credited with ruling over Nadol, Jalor, Mandor, Bharmer, Ratnapur, Sanchor, Radhadhara, Kher, Ramsin and Bhinmal; and also with having curbed the pride of the Turushkas². In northwestern Rajputana, the Jadon Bhattis established themselves at Kaman, Tijara and Sarhatta (northern Alwar)³. Even Ajmer, Bayana and Thangir seem to have been lost, to judge from their inclusion among Iltutmish's conquests⁴.

From 1226 he commenced operations to recover the lost territories. In that year he advanced into Rajputana and invested Ranthambhor. It was easily captured and garrisoned⁵. Next year he marched against the Paramara capital of Mandor which also fell easily and was

¹ Thomas: *Chronicles*, p. 70; also Cunningham: *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 92. Both however, ascribe it to another Chaharadeva, of Narwar, who, in reality, was not a Chauhana and appears later in history. The peculiarly Chauhana device of the 'bull and horseman' and the word *Asawari* on the coin, connect it, at any rate, with the Chaharadeva of the inscription which, although undated, is paleographically ascribed to this period and to this prince; *EI*, XII, p. 223-24. Chaharadeva, however, does not appear in the list of the *Hammira-maha-kavya*.

² *EI*, IX, p. 72-73.

³ Cunningham: *Reports*, XX, p. 10-11.

⁴ Minhaj, Raverty's trans. p. 627.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 172; the text has Ratanpur, but see Raverty, trans. p. 627. Cf. the *Hammira-maha-kavya* in which the event is related differently. The young prince Viranarayana, on his way to wed the Kachwaha princess of Gwalior, was attacked by the forces of 'Jalaluddin, ruler of Joginipur,' but the battle proving indecisive, the latter, by promises of reward and friendship, persuaded the prince to visit Delhi where he was perfidiously murdered. His minister, Bhagavata, thereupon retired to Malwah and the fort of Ranthambhor was consequently occupied by Jalaluddin's forces without opposition. Although Jalaluddin is known to have been one of Raziah's official names, in whose reign

in all probability annexed¹. The final victory over Qubachah enabled him to make a more concentrated drive against the Hindu states. To this period should be ascribed the reduction of Jalor recorded by Hasan Nizami, who, however, places it immediately after his accession². After a close investment Udaisinha was compelled to surrender but was allowed to continue as a tributary vassal³. Rajput records ascribe to Iltutmish also an attack on Nagda, the capital of the Guhelots, from where the reigning prince Jaitrasinha repulsed him with heavy losses⁴. A similarly unsuccessful attack is also said to have been made on the Chalukyas of Gujrat⁵. Success however, seems to have attended his efforts in eastern and northern Rajputana where Bayana and Thangir were recovered⁶; towards the end of his reign, the country round Ajmer, including Lavah, Kasili and Sambhar, appears under his governors⁷. Offensive action appears to have been continued in Rajputana by his governors also, one of whom is reported to have lost his life in an expedition to Bundi⁸. Nagaur, in Jodhpur state, which reappears under Delhi in Masud's reign, must also have been recovered at this period. Mention

the fortress was reoccupied by the Chauhanas, yet the account of its capture must refer to Iltutmish's expedition. Bhagavata later recovered the fortress and founded the dynasty whose representative was Hammira, for whom the account was admittedly written; *IA*, 1879, p. 63.

¹ Minhaj, p. 182; *Tajul Mansir*, Elliot, II, p. 241, also mentions Mandor.

² *Tajul Mansir*, f. 200a; Minhaj includes Jalor among Iltutmish's conquests; p. 179.

³ In his inscriptions Udaisinha makes no mention of his conflict with the Turks. His earliest record is dated in 1205; *EI*, XII, p. 53.

⁴ Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 272; *IA*, 1928, p. 55.

⁵ Ojha: *Rajputana*, II, p. 462.

⁶ These places are listed in Iltutmish's conquests; Minhaj, p. 179. At Kaman, near Thangir, he built the mosque now known as the *Chausat Khamba*; see Cunningham: *Reports*, XX, pp. 11 and 56.

⁷ Minhaj, p. 286.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 176.

should be made in connection with this offensive in Rajputana of Iltutmish's expedition into Malwah and the plunder of Bhilsa and Ujjain in 632/1234-5¹. It was little more than a predatory raid, for the Paramara dynasty is known to have suffered no territorial loss on this occasion but continued in independence till the end of the century².

In 629/1231 Iltutmish besieged Gwalior. The Parihara ruler, called Mangal Deo by Minhaj, (possibly meant for Malayavarmadeva) after resisting for a whole year, secretly evacuated the Gwalior, fortress. It was occupied the next morning and garrisoned under the command of Rashiduddin³.

Operations south of the Jumna, however, brought less encouraging results. Malik Tayasai, the commandant of Bayana and Gwalior, was directed in 631/1233-34, to proceed with the Bundelkhand, Kanouj forces against Kalinjar. The ruler, possibly Trailokyavarma, fled on his approach and Tayasai thereupon freely plundered a number of towns and obtained a vast amount of booty⁴. Kalinjar however, does not appear to have been recovered; judging from the Hindu records of the country around, little territorial advantage accrued to the Delhi forces. Although Tayasai claimed to have captured the raja's standard and kettledrums on this occasion, he obviously considered it a great military feat to have been able to get away. Mention is made, in connection with this expedition, of a place, called Jamu by Minhaj, which, Cunningham thought, should refer to Bandhogarh in

¹ Minhaj, p. 176.

² Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 201-2.

³ Minhaj, p. 175. Cf. Gwalior Namah, f. 11.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 240.

Baghelkhand where the Baghela dynasty had recently established itself and was gathering power¹. On his way back Tayasai was attacked in the defiles by a "Rana Chahir Ajari", doubtless identical with Chahara Deva of the Jajapella dynasty who later supplanted the Pariharas in Narwar². By great exertions Tayasai was able to extricate his forces and reach Gwalior.

In the Ganges valley also Hindu aggression was sought to be checked. The inclusion, among Iltutmish's conquests, not only of Budaun where he held his last post before accession to the throne, but also of Kanouj and Benares, points to their having been lost to the Hindus in the meantime³. At Budaun the establishment of the Gahdvala family has been mentioned earlier; survival, and a possible recovery of the Rashtrakuta line represented by Lakhanapala, also could not have been altogether an improbability⁴. In eastern Rohilkhand, the Katchriya Rajputs retained their stronghold at Ahicchatra (modern Aolna), not far from Budaun; the inclusion of Katehar in the list of Iltutmish's conquests is a clear indication of the range of his operations. It also seems probable that the subjugation of Bahraich and

¹ Cunningham: *Reports* XXI, p. 104; Raverty: *op. cit.*, p. 824, note, identified it with Damoh in the Central Provinces, but it is too far off towards the south.

² *EI*, VII, p. 223-24; Cunningham: *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 91. In both the papers, however, this Chahir Ajari is confused with Nahardeva of Ranthambhor against whom Tayasai's expedition is accordingly stated to have been directed. Chahir Ajari is never mentioned by Minhaj along with Ranthambhor whose Rana is consistently named Nahar Deo; e.g. p. 292, Raverty's translation, p. 818. Cf. on this point, *IA*, 1918, p. 242-43.

³ Minhaj, p. 179. Iltutmish issued a commemorative coin from the *kharaaj* of Kanouj; Wright, no. 52 and p. 71-72.

⁴ His inscription is ascribed to a period from the end of the 12th century to the beginning of the 13th century; *EI*, I, pp. 61-62.

the districts north of the Gogra river, was also effected about this time. In Awadh and the Doab also Muslim rule had to be re-established by force. On his appointment to Awadh prince Nasiruddin Mahmud is said to have waged continuous 'holy wars' against the refractory Hindu tribes and to have overthrown a chief named Bartu (or Prithu) "beneath whose sword about a hundred and twenty thousand Mussalmans had attained martyrdom"¹. Operations against the local chiefs in the Doab are alluded to in a passage in the *Tabaqat* in which 'the son of the Rai' is said to have been captured by Malik Tamur Khan in course of an expedition to Chandwar². It is doubtful if any appreciable advance could be made into north Bihar. Tirhut is, however, included in Iltutmish's acquisitions, but this should mean nothing more tangible than a possibly 'successful raid'³.

Iltutmish died in April 1236, of an illness contracted during his expedition to the northwest⁴. His was a remarkably successful reign. He took up Aibak's unfinished work and against heavy odds and on imperfect foundations, built up a state whose sovereignty required great diplomatic skill to preserve. That he,

Achievements
of Iltutmish.

¹ Minhaj, p. 170. Cf. Barua: *op. cit.* p. 224, and *CHI*, III, p. 54, wherein this Bartu has been identified with a legendary king of Assam who, it is attempted to prove thereby, opposed Bakhtiyar as well as Iwaz. This is untenable, for Bartu is mentioned only in connection with Awadh. See Ray: *Dynastic History*, I, p. 547, who, more plausibly, suggests his connection with the Gahdvala family.

² Minhaj, p. 247. Notice may be taken in this context of a Sanskrit inscription, on a brick, found near Jaunpur, and dated V. S. 1273/A. D. 1217, in which certain Hindu bankers record the mortgage of some land. It refers to the current coin under the name of *Shahdoddika drama* (Shahabuddin's dirhams?). *JASB*, XIX, p. 454-6.

³ Minhaj, p. 179. The printed text also mentions Darbhanga as one of his conquests.

⁴ The date, as given by Minhaj, p. 176, is 20th *Shaban*, 633/29th April, 1236.

an ex-slave, could leave the crown to his sons, is a measure of his constructive statesmanship. Great realism, steadfastness and foresight marked his conduct of foreign affairs. Medieval India owed him not a little gratitude for helping her to escape the Mongol fury which had uprooted more powerful and far older empires. His firm and energetic action unified the kingdom and saved it from initial dismemberment. Against the Rajputs his forward policy achieved great success and yielded results of great moral value; it constituted an effective answer to the first challenge directed by the Hindus against the newly established Muslim state. Beyond recovering Muizzuddin's conquests he made appreciable advances into Rajputana and the trans-Gangetic tracts and also towards reorganising the Indus valley frontier. A calculating and skilful organiser, to him the Sultanate owed the first outline of its administrative system. He laid the foundations of an absolutist monarchy that was to serve later as the instrument of a military imperialism under the Khaljis. 'By a clever compromise with religious leaders', he disarmed moral opposition, while the military class found profit and occupation in his expansionist schemes. Not merely his crown and his dynasty, but also the state obtained its final sanction, and his ambition its crowning fulfilment, when, on the 22nd Rabi, I, 626/19th February, 1229, emissaries from the Abbaside Caliph arrived from Baghdad to invest him with the powers of an Islamic king². Aibak's objective was

¹ See Ferishta, I, p. 66-7, for his scrupulous performance of the religious duties. He affected a great reverence for the *Sufts*; Minhaj, pp. 166-68. Barani, pp. 108-137, makes lengthy reference to his 'love and regard for those *derveshes* who had renounced the world's material attractions. See *Fawadul Fawaid*, f. 68, for an illustration of how this religiosity helped in the fulfilment of his imperialistic schemes. See also, *Zikr-i-Jami-Aulia-i-Delhi*, f. 201a.

² Minhaj, p. 174.

at last achieved and the Delhi state thus became a full legal entity. To describe Iltutmish as great would no doubt be an overstatement, but he was an unusually able ruler who left his mark on every aspect of the Sultanate's activity. Even long after he was gone and his dynasty supplanted, people fondly looked back to his "prosperous and glorious reign"¹. Aibak outlined the Delhi Sultanate and its sovereign status; Iltutmish was unquestionably its first king.

CHAPTER V

DYNASTIC TROUBLES AND REBELLIONS : 1235-1265.

Within six weeks of the festivities celebrating the Caliphial investiture, news arrived of the death of Iltutmish's crown prince, his eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmud. It nearly stunned him, for all his dynastic plans seemed doomed to frustration. The Sultanate's initial difficulties were by no means over and it could ill-afford the hazards of a dynastic change, for a stable leadership was essential. But he could see no one among his surviving sons competent enough to be entrusted with his responsibilities. Firoz, the eldest among them, was lazy and irresponsible; others were too young. He could detect the necessary courage and alertness in only one of his children, his eldest daughter, Raziah, who, with the requisite training, might prove equal to the task. A queen-regnant was perhaps a novel experiment for India but not to his persianised compatriots whose racial and cultural traditions were famlier with female sovereigns. The *Shariah*, it is true, would take a great deal of ingeneous interpretation to countenance the idea, but Iltutmish could perhaps count on his docile ecclesiastics to overlook this departure from a law that was, in any case, continually being reinterpreted all these centuries¹. The real opposition, he apprehended, was to come from his sons and their partisans in the court and in the services. A young woman,

¹ For an exhaustive discussion of this question *vis-a-vis* Raziah, see Habibullah: *Sultana Raziah*, *1HQ*, 1940, pp. 750-772.

besides, was exposed to many dangers; to expect her to hold the crown against the wishes of her courtiers and officers was foolish optimism. Iltutmish could, no doubt, force them to accept her heir-apparentship, but prudence suggested a more cautious approach. And a timely improvement in F'rioz's character, may, after all, solve his problems.

In 625/1228, Firoz had been given his first appointment in Budaun. For the next few years Iltutmish experimented and kept his counsel. While he watched

Nomination
of Raziah.

Firoz's conduct of public affairs, he began to associate Raziah with the administration. A bolder step was to leave her in charge of the capital when, in 629/1231, he set out on the Gwalior expedition¹. The result must have been encouraging, for it decided the question for him. Firoz had not yet shown his worth, and further postponement of the matter was injudicious. Immediately on his return he, therefore, ordered a proclamation to be drafted appointing Raziah as his successor; and in so doing, he gave his courtiers an opportunity to voice their opinion. Objection was raised as he expected, not on legalistic grounds, but for the practical unwisdom of pitting a daughter against a grown-up son and his ambitious mother². Their doubt as to her capacity to hold her own, was, however easily removed, for her talents were widely recognised. A wider publicity was given to her nomination by including her name in a series of the silver *tankah*³.

It was a sound choice, but as time passed, to Iltut-

¹ Ferishta, I, p. 68. See also Isami, p. 126. Iltutmish entrusted her with the royal seal.

² Minhaj, p. 185-6.

³ *JASB*, 1896, p. 218, no. 30. Wright, p. 40, no. 161 A, however, ascribes the issue to Raziah herself, and on the evidence of a better preserved specimen, dates it in 685/1237.

mish finality seemed difficult to attain. His incompetence notwithstanding, Firoz had the prodigal's winning grace; his mother, Shah Turkan.

Ruknuddin Firoz. was an adept intriguer and counted supporters among the state-officers. Whether the expected change had shown itself in Firoz's character, or whether in the courtiers' talk Iltutmish was given cause to read more than mere well-meaning apprehension, the chronicler gives us no clue to ascertain. That Iltutmish was contemplating some concession to him is all that can be gathered from the statement that on his way back from his last expedition in 1236 he brought Firoz with him from Lahore whither he had lately been transferred as, 'since he was the eldest of his surviving sons, the people had their eyes on him'.¹

Nothing, however, is on record, to show that the earlier proclamation was rescinded; the matter was evidently still unsettled when he died. As Iltutmish's last action concerned Firoz, he had an advantage over his sister; Shah Turkan was quick to act and on the same night, she had her son crowned and proclaimed as Ruknuddin Firoz².

His accession was technically a supersession of Raziah and was the work of the provincial officers who had joined the late king on his last expedition. It seemed

Petticoat rule. to have the approval of all the interests in the state with the singular exception of the common citizens of Delhi who do not appear to have taken the customary oath of allegiance. The omission would perhaps have been corrected in course of time, but immediately on the departure of the provincial officers, Firoz confirmed by his

¹ Minhaj, p. 182.

² *Idem*. The text has Tuesday, 29th *Shaban*, but this is clearly wrong as Tuesday fell on the 28th. A second version, noted in the footnote, has night of the 21st, Tuesday; this accords with Raverty's Mss.

conduct, his father's misgivings. He commenced a life of gaiety and pleasure while power passed to his mother. She was a jealous woman and pitilessly persecuted her co-wives and their children. The treasury was emptied to cater for the Sultan's pleasures. This vicious, petticoat rule produced the inevitable reaction, and his own supporters now set about to make amends for their hasty action. Even the *wazir* Junaidi left the king to join the governors preparing to march against the capital. Firoz's younger brother, Ghiyasuddin, posted at Awadh, started the rebellion by seizing the Lakhnauti revenue on its way to Delhi and "sacking and plundering several towns in Hindusthan"¹. Governors of Multan, Lahore, Hansi and Budaun all combined their forces and arrived at Mansurpur. Firoz marched out to oppose them, but his army officers revolted on the way, murdered his personal attendants and returned to the capital².

There, with their acquiescence, events took a turn which was not at all expected by the governors moving to the city. Taking advantage of Firoz's absence, Raziah very cleverly exploited the general discontent against his mother's rule. Clad in red, she showed herself to the populace assembled for the Friday prayers and in the name of Iltutmish appealed for help against the machinations of Shah Turkan³. This melodramatic gesture produced an intense feeling of loyalty to Iltutmish's memory and the crowd was seized with a great enthusiasm for giving effect to his proclamation. Isami tells us that she even entered into an agreement with the people: she was to be given a chance to prove her abilities and if she did

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

² Minhaj, p. 183; Haji Dabir, II, p. 708. Cf. TM, p. 22-23.

³ Ibn Battuta: *Kitabur Bahlah*, II, p. 25-26.

not prove better than men, her head was to be struck off¹. The army officers lent their weight to the action and by the time Firoz arrived back in the city, Raziah's enthronement was complete and Shah Turkan thrown into prison. His own imprisonment and death, following soon after, terminated an inglorious reign of seven months².

In giving the crown to Raziah, the army officers and the citizens apparently were carrying out Iltutmish's declared wish; but their action, in effect, negated the provincial governors' right, established in the case of Firoz, to have a predominant voice in the king's nomination. For, although Firoz's dethronement satisfied their immediate demand, yet they continued their hostile march towards Delhi. They refused to accept the *fait accompli* not, as their conduct showed, because of Raziah's legal incompetence, but because of the alleged irregularity of the whole procedure. As the highest counsellor of state the *wazir* also felt ignored and the revolt continued. They arrived and encamped in front of the city and commenced hostilities. Malik Tayasai, whom Raziah appointed to the governorship of Awadh and thus retained on her side, attempted to bring reinforcements but was captured by the insurgents and died in prison³. Her military position was definitely weak but her Machievellian diplomacy proved a great retriever. She came out of the city and tried to sow dissension among her opponents. Persuading Malik Salari and Kabir Khan to join her secretly on the assurance that the *wazir*, Maliks Kochi and Jani were to be imprisoned, she spread the news of this secret com-

¹ *Futuhus-Salatin*, p. 127.

² *Minhaj*, p. 184.

³ *Ibid*, p. 186.

pact among the latter who thereupon took fright and fled. They were closely pursued. Jani and Kochi were seized and slain and the *wazir* died a lone fugitive in the Sirmur hills¹.

This success stabilized her position, and she now proceeded to organise the government. The *wazarat* went to the *naib wazir*, Khwaja Muhazzabuddin; Saifuddin

New government.

Aibak, and on his death shortly afterwards, Malik Hasan Ghorî, obtained the command of the army. As a reward for betraying his comrades, Kabir Khan was given the governorship of Lahore. Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti, who had kept aloof from the late rebellion and now sent in his submission, was raised to the vice-royalty. Uch was placed under Hindu Khan while Budaun went to Malik Aetigin². In the words of the chronicler "from Debal to Lakhnauti all the *maliks* and *amirs* manifested their obedience and submitted"³.

This recognition of her authority, as the sequel showed, concealed a latent opposition. The officers who had rebelled against Firoz were hardly prepared to submit

Move to break
the nobles' power.

tamely to a princess who was, after all, their own creation. She was herself aware of the dangerous power of her father's Turkish officers and slaves who monopolised all power in the state. The crown was vindicated when she overthrew the provincial chiefs and in the process arrested the growth of a dangerous constitutional precedent; it was necessary now to follow it up by restoring the monarchy to its rightful position. For, a dynastic leadership could yield the best results, in the

¹ Minhaj, p. 185-86. Cf. Raverty, p. 640-41, and note; the passage describing Raziah's tactics has been wrongly translated.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 249, 253, and 293.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

circumstances in which the Turks were placed, only when it commanded absolute power; 'in the 13th century India, the monarch's firmness was the only justification for his existence. Courage and unflinching determination was to be her motto; in strength of character she was to prove herself "better than man". Details of her measures in this direction have not been recorded but it seems certain that by discarding female attire, and riding out in public and holding open courts¹ which her opponents later pretended to consider as scandalous conduct, she intended to emphasise the firmness and vigour of her rule. It is also reasonable to suppose that the 'favour' stated to have been shown to the Abyssinian 'master of the horse', Jamaluddin Yaqut, occurred about this time² and was part of her plan to break the Turkish nobles' monopoly of all important offices. For, the *amir-i-akhur*, like the *amir-hajib*, carried great privilege and power and seems to have been always held by a Turk. Isami states that ever since Firoz's accession Yaqut had attached himself to Raziah's cause³; the favour could thus mean only an increased dependence on his support to counter the '*maliks*'.

By the third year of her reign, in any event, the queen's real aim must have become abundantly clear: the military aristocracy could read in her actions nothing but a challenge to their domination. It is little wonder therefore that a secret conspiracy became active among

¹ Minhaj, p. 188. Isami, p. 129, makes it clear that these changes occurred towards the end of her reign. Yahya Sirhindi: *TM*, p. 26, seems to suggest that she was unanimously advised to adopt these manners.

² Minhaj, *idem*, does not date this event but mentions it along with those that happened before 635/1237. Isami p. 129, implies that Yaqut was only confirmed in his post which he held from her father's time; *TM*, p. 26, however, clearly states that Raziah first appointed him to this post. There is little authority for Ferishta's statement that he was promoted to the rank of *Amirul-Umara*; I, p. 68.

³ p. 129.

the '*amirs and maliks*', stationed at the court and in the neighbouring provinces, with the object not only of deposing her but also of rendering the future sovereign permanently and constitutionally impotent¹. At the head of this conspiracy stood Aetigin, lately governor of Budaun and now the *amir-i-hajib*, whose proximity to the queen was a great advantage; he was bound by ties of great friendship with Malik Iltuniah, the superintendent of Bhatinda². But the execution of their plan seemed far more difficult than in the case of Firoz. For Raziah commanded strong support in the city; her vigilance left no scope for a palace revolution; and a military siege of the capital stood no better chance of success now, than at the beginning of the reign. It was therefore essential to decoy her to a distant province and there to seize her by overwhelming military power or at any rate, to occupy the capital. Early in 1240 Kabir Khan revolted in Lahore. Direct evidence is lacking, but the coincidence of the subsequent events connect it with the conspirator's general plan. But the queen was prompt to take action. Immediately on receipt of the news she marched out with the available troops and thus forestalled their plan of assembling their forces there. Unaided, Kabir Khan could offer little resistance and was compelled to retreat westwards until at the Chinab, he found his progress barred by the Mongols operating across the river, and halted. As the queen's forces came up, he turned back and surrendered unconditionally³.

Her energetic action thus foiled the conspirator's first move. Within a fortnight of her return, however, a

¹ All the Turkish, Ghori and Tajik officers were in the conspiracy. See p. 253.

² Minhaj, p. 188 and 251.

³ *Ibid*, p. 188; on p. 235, it is dated 635.

second rebellion was reported from Bhatinda, where, Aetigin's friend, Iltuniah now staged an open revolt. Determined as she was to crush all opposition at the outset, she allowed herself no rest, but disregarding the heat and inconvenience of the month of *Ramzan*, set out immediately¹. This time the conspirators seemed to have planned their moves carefully and on her arrival at Bhatinda those in her retinue vented their wrath on Yaqut and murdered him. By a process nowhere recorded in detail but doubtless facilitated by the removal of one of her main supporters, they subsequently succeeded in seizing the queen and throwing her into prison². With the royal forces now away from Delhi, the citizens could put up little effective resistance to the conspirators who now proceeded to give effect to their political plan. Choice of the next king having already been made, on the receipt of the news of Raziah's capture, the partisans at Delhi raised Iltutnash's third son, Bahram, to the throne. He took the *julius* name of Muizzuddin and, seated at the red palace, received the homage and felicitation of his supporters. Having arranged for Raziah's continued captivity at the Bhatinda fort under Iltuniah, the leaders of the conspiracy leisurely returned to Delhi to ratify Bahram's accession by formally taking the oath of allegiance³.

Raziah's deposition was in effect a victory of the Turkish military aristocracy—the '*maliks and amirs*.'

¹She returned on the 19th *Shaban* and started again for Bhatinda, on the 9th *Ramazan*, 4th April 1240: *Ibid*, p. 188. Minhaj adds that some of the *amirs* at the court were secretly in league with Iltuniah.

²Minhaj, p. 188-89.

³*Ibid*, p. 189, and 191. Bahram's accession took place on the 27th, *Ramzan*, 18 days after Raziah set out on the Bhatinda expedition. The ceremony of taking the general oath of allegiance took place, after the *maliks'* return from Bhatinda, on 11th *Shawwal*.

The elevation of Bahram to the throne as it appears, was conditional on his agreeing to delegate to them all sovereign power; he was only to reign while the oligarchy ruled. This agreement was now given a concrete shape by the creation of a new office, the *naib-i-mamlakat* (deputy of the kingdom) to whom Bahram was made to delegate all his powers by a written proclamation. As the leader of the conspiracy Aetigin was appointed to the post and the *wazir*, Muhazzabuddin, also a party to the arrangement, occupied a secondary position¹.

Aetigin entered into his position with zest and even assumed some of the royal prerogatives, like keeping an elephant and playing the *naubat* at his gate, and also married one of the king's sisters. This flaunting of his privileged position soon made Bahram sick of the whole affair; he could not willingly submit to the encroachments on his prerogatives. Unable to swallow the *naib's* effrontery and seeking a way out of the arrangement to which he had agreed, obviously, under compulsion, he had the *naib* murdered in his office².

Iltuniah had obviously been promised a large share in the spoils of the conspirator's victory; but the murder of his friend, Aetigin, destroyed his hopes; for the time being his party was disorganised. To rally it again with the same secrecy and on the same basis seemed to require longer time and greater opportunities than he could hope to possess. It is true, Bahram had permanently estranged his former supporters; two of them, Maliks Salari and Qaraqash left his court and joined Iltuniah

¹ Minhaj, p. 191-92 and p. 253. The delegation of power was to be at least for one year, because "of the king's youth".

² *Ibid*, p. 192, and pp. 253-54. The *wazir* was also attacked on this occasion but he escaped.

at Bhatinda¹. But a better plan suggested itself. To marry the captive princess and then lay claim with armed force on her throne seemed to assure better returns and easier success. It suited Raziah also. In August of the same year, she accordingly married the former rebel and having adopted the regal insignia, they marched to occupy the capital by force². Bahram's regular troops however, proved more than a match for their mercenary forces and sent them flying back to Bhatinda. On the way, near Kaithal, their troops deserted and on the 25th *Rabi* I, 638/13th October, 1240, while resting under a tree, they were both murdered by Hindu robbers³.

Aetigin's fall was apparently a victory for the Sultan and no new *naib* was appointed. But the new *amir-i-hajib*, Badruddin Sunqar, now assumed dictatorial powers and even issued orders without the king's consent⁴. The *wazir*, revengeful at being thus superseded, manœuvred to destroy him and found in the Sultan a

¹ Minhaj, p. 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 190 and 253. See also Haji Dabir, II, p. 704.

³ Minhaj, p. 190 and p. 192; on p. 252, however, he states that Raziah was captured near Kaithal and Iltuniah near Mansurpur and both attained martyrdom the next day, 25th *Rabi* I, 638. The former version, that they were murdered by the Hindus, is supported by Ferishta, I, p. 68, *T4*, I, p. 68, and the *Mirat-i-Jahan-Numa*, f. 53. The *TM*, p. 29, states that they were taken prisoner and sent to Delhi where they were put to death under Bahram's orders. It is hardly necessary to refer to Raziah's alleged moral lapse, for the story no longer finds place in sober history. Ibn Battuta's gossip and Ferishta's suggestion are all that can be cited as authority for it, for Minhaj's remark *qurbati uftad'* can bear no such meaning. The phrase is also used for describing Aibak's relation with his master; p. 139. *TM*, copies the exact phrase from Minhaj. Haji Dabir, a very careful and conscientious writer, translates Minhaj's meaning by a phrase which leaves no ambiguity. The value of Ibn Battuta's story can be judged from the following quotation; II, p. 26:—"Raziah ruled for four years and was in the habit of riding out like men without her veil. Then she was imputed of having connection with one of her Abyssinian slaves. So the people agreed on marrying her to a near relative of hers and the kingdom passed on to her brother Nasiruddin". The printed text of Minhaj, p. 253, contains a couplet which seems to show Minhaj's belief in the truth of the allegation. But the same couplet is found in the *TM* also and is obviously an interpolation as Raverty has not found it in the older Mss. On the whole question see *IHQ*, 1940, pp. 769-772.

⁴ Minhaj, pp. 193 and 255.



SULTANAH RAZIAH.

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willing listener to false accusations against the *amir*. Apprehensive of his own safety and yet ignorant of the *wazir's* machinations, Sunqar tried with some ecclesiastics of the city to conspire for Bahram's deposition. In one of his secret meetings he invited the *wazir* who took advantage of this chance of wreaking his vengeance and betrayed the whole conspiracy. Sunqar was consequently dismissed and banished to Budaun and on his return shortly after, 'without orders' was seized and put to death¹. His accomplices were also similarly punished.

Aetigin's assassination had terminated Bahram's agreement with the '*maliks*'; Sunqar's death now widened the breach still further. The ecclesiastics had also been alienated by the punishment given to some of their members; an indiscreet act on the part of Bahram, leading to the execution of the *qazi* of Mihir, made determined enemies of them². The *wazir*, a most vile and vindictive man, now sought an opportunity to settle his own accounts with the Sultan. Soon the opportunity came. In 639/1241, a Mongol force besieged Lahore and troops had to be sent out to relieve the city. The *wazir* was sent in their company, but as the army neared Lahore, he frightened the officers by disclosing a secret order purported to have been issued by the Sultan for their seizure and execution. Enraged at this treachery, the army revolted and at once prepared to march back to depose the tyrant. The *Sheikhul Islam*, whom Bahram now sent to allay their fears, was also a party to the plot and so fanned the flame of rebellion. The army

¹ Minhaj, p. 255.

² *Ibid*, p. 195. On the instigation of a recluse, named Ayub Turkman, who acquired great respect in Bahram's eyes and who previously had suffered at the hands of Shamsuddin, the *qazi* of Mihir, the Sultan had the latter thrown under the feet of an elephant.

accompanied by the *wazir* and the *Sheikhul Islam*, returned to besiege Delhi. It was denuded of troops but the citizens put up a stout defence. In the end, however, the *wazir's* partisans succeeded in raising an insurrection within the city in which, even Minhaj, the chief *qazi* and possibly a prominent supporter of Bahram, was severely wounded. Next day the city fell to the rebels and Bahram was taken prisoner and executed¹.

In Bahram's fall the crown once again suffered a defeat. Masud, the very young son of Firoz, was raised to the throne with the name of Alauddin, precisely on the same conditions as his uncle.

Alauddin Masud;
a new government.

In the government that was formed, however, a coalition with different parties is noticeable. For, the *naib's* office was given to Malik Qutbuddin Hasan, a refugee prince of Ghor, and as such outside the rank of the Shamsi slaves², Malik Qaraqash Khan, received the *amir-hajib's* office, while Kashlu Khan, one of the leaders of the anti-Bahram party, was given charge of the extensive province of Nagour, Mandor and Ajmer in Rajputana³. Minhaj-i-Siraj having resigned from office, the chief *qaziship* went to Imaduddin Shafurqani⁴. The entire government was, however, dominated by the *wazir*, the prime author of the last rebellion, and the Turkish *maliks* found their position being increasingly compromised. The *wazir* exercised all power and even assumed regal pretensions⁵; the *naib* became a mere figurehead. To secure his domination, he began to exclude the Turkish aristocracy from offices of state.

¹ Minhaj, p. 196-7. The siege dragged on for more than three months and Minhaj throws the main responsibility on one Fakhruddin Mubarakshah Farrukhi, one of Bahram's personal attendants who acquired ascendancy in his counsels and refused to listen to proposals for compromise.

² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and 261.

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ He assumed the twin prerogatives of the 'elephant and the *Naubat*'.

This however, they were in no mood to accept, and saved their position by murdering the *wazir*¹. Their power was now unfettered and a more submissive *wazir* was found in Najmuddin Abu Bakr. The coalition being already dissolved, Qaraqash Khan was made to relinquish the *amir-i-hajib*'s office which was now given to one of their junior members, named Balban².

The last-mentioned appointment was destined to change the trend of the whole situation. Although appointed as one of their nominees, Balban soon overshadowed his partymen, and by superior ability, appropriated all power.

Balban, the new
amir-i-hajib.

With the state administration in his control, he diverted the energy of the military aristocracy to campaigns against the Rajputs and the Mongols. For, he realised that absence of military action was largely responsible for the confusion which characterised the preceding reigns. It was this action which made for the comparative tranquility of Masud's reign and its continuation for four years.

The circumstances of his deposition are not stated clearly; but it is doubtful if the same forces were active on this occasion also. Minhaj's explanation is hardly convincing³. His sudden removal, at a time when his forces had scored an important victory over the Mongols, and the quiet accession of his uncle Mahmud (Nasiruddin Mahmud), seem suspicious. The *malik*'s power had been greatly reduced and their party disorganised; at any rate, we do not hear of a conditional elec-

¹ Minhaj, p. 250.

² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

³ After Masud returned from the Uch campaign on the 12th *Zilhaj*, he fell on evil ways and began to seize and kill his *maliks*; p. 189. It seems strange that this change in his character should have manifested itself so suddenly and that it should have become intolerable within a month after which he was deposed and put to death, on the 21st *Muharram*; p. 201. The account of Mahmud's secret march at night, disguised as a lady,

tion again; Balban's position and power continued undiminished in the next reign. These facts point to the probability that Masud's deposition resulted from personal ambitions and was a palace affair and that Balban, in league with Mahmud's mother, had a hand in it, a surmise which explains the chronicler's reluctance to give more details.

The new reign, which commenced on the 23rd *Muharram*, 644/10th June, 1246¹, did not affect the state's policy, now firmly in Balban's control. The latter further strengthened his position in 647/1249, by marrying his daughter to the young Sultan². Masud's *naib-i-mamlakat* Qutbuddin Hasan, does not appear to have survived him, but the office was not filled until Balban got himself formally appointed to it in 1249-50³. His younger brother Kashlu Khan became the *amir-i-hajib*, while one of his cousins Sher Khan received the important governorship of Lahore and Bhatinda⁴. The submissive Abu Bakr continued as *wazir* and most probably became one of Balban's partisans. All the key positions being thus held by his men, Balban's domination in the government became unquestioned. To this was to be added the timid and retiring disposition of the king which made it easy for the *naib* to wield power, an advantage denied to Aetigin.

Because of his weak nature, Mahmud was however, easily persuaded. In 651/1253, under the influence of a party, consisting of the Indian Muslims and certain

accompanied by his mother, from Bahraich to be crowned at the Delhi palace is highly suggestive of a well-planned conspiracy.

¹ Minhaj, p. 208.

² *Ibid*, p. 218. Cf. Ibn Battuta, II, p. 28, who asserts that Balban was Iltutmish's son-in-law.

³ Minhaj, p. 294.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 277 and 280.

"Hindi" rule;
an interlude.

Turks opposed to Balban, led by a man named Imaduddin Rayhan, the king suddenly issued an order for the dismissal of Balban and his brother from their positions in the court. They were directed to leave Delhi and proceed to their respective assignments (*iqta*)¹. A new government was formed in which the *wakil-i-dar*, Imaduddin Rayhan became the *de facto* head, the *wazir* Abu Bakr, possibly because of his leanings to Balban, being replaced by a man named Junaidi. Sher Khan was forced to leave Bhatinda and Multan which were placed under Arslan Khan, a leading member of the new faction; even Minhaj was relieved from office and Shamsuddin, one of Rayhan's nominees, became the chief *qazi*².

Rayhan thus tried to fill all the important offices with his own men and the Turkish element in the state administration was sought to be overshadowed. Political realism demanded of Balban a willing association with this non-Turkish administration, for the situation had vastly changed since the days when Iltutmish could effectively insist on keeping out native Muslims. But as in the case of Muhazzabuddin's action a decade earlier, the rule of the "upstart Hindi eunuch" was intolerable. Disgust ripened into opposition and soon, under the leadership of Balban, into armed action. The majority of the Turkish officers, posted in the provinces round the capital, joined their forces and in *Ramzan*, 652/1254, marched towards the city to impose their will on the king. Mahmud thereupon was persuaded to set out with the royal troops to oppose them and encamped near Samana, facing the insurgent nobles.

¹ Minhaj, pp. 217, 280 and 298.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 217-18; also 298-99.

Armed engagement seemed imminent and Rayhan endeavoured his best to bring it about. But Mahmud lost heart and eagerly responded to proposals for compromise. Balban's party offered to submit on condition of Rayhan's dismissal. The latter was accordingly transferred to the province of Budaun and thence shortly afterwards to Bahraich. Balban was re-appointed *naib* while his kinsmen and supporters were all reinstated. Minhaj and Abu Bakr both received their posts back¹.

This brief interruption however, did not affect the governmental policy. A greater emphasis was, instead, laid on the authority of the central government which emerged more secure from the struggle, for, by siding, at the end, with the insurgent Turks, the crown assured itself of their unflinching support. Mahmud's reign guaranteed the rule of the Turkish nobility.

Political changes in the capital were bound to affect the hold on the outlying provinces where distance offered a constant temptation to ambitious men to make a bid for independence. The Sultanate had scarcely been integrated into a political unity when Iltutmish's death opened the way to disruption. This is best illustrated in the history of Lakhnauti.

Rebellion in
the provinces.

It was after two expeditions, conducted within a period of eight years, that the Khalji chiefs could be made to acknowledge his authority. To curtail the governor's power he found it necessary to separate the province from Bihar. But the arrangement lasted only till his death. Tughan Khan maintained a show of allegiance to Raziah and Bahram, but his actions showed

Insubordination
in Lakhnauti.

¹ Minhaj, pp. 203-4, 218-20, 300-301. Because of his own dismissal from office Minhaj speaks with great indignation about Rayhan's low origin.

little subordination. Having quarrelled with the governor of Lakhanor—probably a separate military division—and occupied it¹, towards the end of Bahram's reign he reannexed Bihar². Early in the next reign he led a conquering expedition to the provinces of Karah, Manikpur, Awadh and even to the districts further north³. This was a clear challenge to the central government, for, in Awadh he sought to dispossess the king's representative. Masud's government however, was powerless to intervene, and the governor of Awadh, Tamur Khan, it appears, could summon little armed assistance in defending his charge. Tughan Khan approached the city and was preparing to install himself there when the much respected Minhaj, then on his way to Lakhnauti, succeeded in persuading him to withdraw.

He was destined to pay dearly for this unauthorised aggression, for Balban's cunning proved as effective as military sanction. Tughan had recently suffered a defeat from the Hindu forces of Jajnagar (Orissa) with whom he had, for sometime past, been carrying on hostilities; the latter now threatened to carry the war into Lakhnauti itself. Unable to meet this threatened invasion singlehanded, he was compelled to appeal to Delhi for aid and Balban quickly responded. He was ostensibly confirmed in his post and the Awadh governor, Tamur Khan, was detailed to proceed with his forces

The latter was obviously an Indian convert.

¹ Minhaj, p. 242-3. The place is designated 'Lakhnauti—Lakhanor,' evidently to distinguish the area south of the Ganges in which Lakhanor was situated. The district is not mentioned again and was perhaps permanently united with Lakhnauti.

² An inscription found at the *Baridargah*, Bihar Sharif, and dated in 640/1242, as put up under Tughan Khan's orders, ascribes to him almost regal titles and makes no reference to the reigning king of Delhi; *JASB*, 1873, p. 45; Cunningham: *Reports*, XV, p. 45. *EIM*, 1913-4, pp. 16-7.

³ Minhaj, p. 243; see also Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 737, note 9.

to his assistance. Tamur Khan's real mission, however, was kept secret; it transpired only when his troops arrived and encamped opposite Lakhnauti. The Hindu forces having in the meantime retired, Tamur Khan picked up a quarrel with Tughan and soon turned it into armed conflict. The latter did his best to defend himself from within the city against what was clearly a *siġe*. At the end, however, he found himself obliged to negotiate and make the province over to Tamur Khan. Delhi's object was thus achieved. Tughan was later compensated with the vacant province of Awadh. By a curious coincidence which evoked some comment, both Tughan and Tamur Khan died at their posts at exactly the same time in 644/1246¹.

Lakhnauti's history for the next few years is far from clear. Tamur Khan's immediate successor is not mentioned in the chronicle². Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khan, who is next mentioned as having been appointed over Lakhnauti, is known to have previously held Kanouj in succession to prince Jalaluddin; the latter was transferred thither in 646/1248, from Sambhal and Budaun³. Yuzbak subsequently held Awadh from where he came to take charge of Lakhnauti. An inscription in Maldah, dated 647/1249, however, testifies to the viceroyalty of Jalaluddin Masud Shah Jani who presumably succeeded Tamur Khan⁴. When Masud's rule terminated cannot be ascertained with precision, but a coin minted at Lakhnauti in the name of Nasiruddin Mahmud and

¹ Minhaj, pp. 244-46.

² Cf. Salim: *Riyasus-Salatin*, p. 73, who states that Tamur Khan ruled for ten years and died in 655/1257.

³ Minhaj, p. 212 and p. 262.

⁴ *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 19-22; Cunningham: *Reports* XV, p. 45 and 171. He was evidently identical with Kulich Khan Masud Jani son of Alauddin Jani, mentioned as one of Mahmud's *maliks*; Minhaj, p. 206. He is described as the *malik* of Lakhnauti and Karrah; the last-mentioned place he held subsequently. Salim refers to him under the name of Jalaluddin Khan.

Yuzbak (Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khan) bears a date which cannot be anterior to 651/1253¹.

Yuzbak soon imbibed Tughan's spirit and tried to follow his example. Following a successful expedition into Jajnagar, he led his troops to Awadh, occupied the city for two weeks and had the *Khutba* read in his name². A reported approach of the royal forces from Delhi, however, compelled him to effect a hurried retreat. But he had greater ambitions to fulfil. Taking advantage of the central government's pre-occupations with the rebellions following Rayhan's dismissal, Yuzbak declared his independence, assumed the regal title of Sultan Mughisuddin and struck coins in his name³. The earliest of his such coins with the sovereign titles is dated 653/1255⁴. He does not appear to have reigned long. In a rash expedition which he led for the conquest and occupation of Kamrup, he was taken prisoner by the Hindu forces and executed⁵. His death must have occurred shortly before 655/1257, for in that year a coin minted at Lakhnauti was issued solely in the name of Mahmud⁶, a clear proof of the restoration of his authority. The next viceroy-designate was Masud Jani whose appointment is chronicled under the year 656/1258⁷ but he does not appear to have assumed office on this occasion; for, early next year we hear of the despatch from Lakhnauti of a number of elephants by Izzuddin Balban-i-Yuzbaki—possibly one of Yuzbak's retainers and the author of the 655

¹ *CCIM*, II, p. 23, no. 140; the coin is disfigured, but beside the names of Mahmud, Yuzbak, and the mint name of Lakhnauti, the word *khamaina* is unmistakable; see also Wright, p. 55 no. 225D.

² Minhaj, p. 263.

³ *Adem*; Cf. Salim, p. 74, who omits Yuzbak's rule altogether.

⁴ *JASB*, 1881, p. 61, no. 11 & 12; *CCIM*, II, p. 146, No. 61.

⁵ For details see *infra*, pp. 139-40.

⁶ Wright, p. 55, no. 225C. *CCIM*, II, no. 138.

⁷ Minhaj, p. 225-6.

coin mentioned above—who was thereupon confirmed in the *iqta* of Lakhnauti¹. That, on Yuzbak's submission, Masud Jani's appointment was cancelled appears to be the only possible inference. Yuzbaki, however, could not rule for long.

Towards the end of 657/1259 or early in 658/1260, Arslan Khan, the governor of Karrah, suddenly advanced on Lakhnauti and taking advantage of Yuz-

Arslan Khan's
aggression.

baki's absence on a raid in East Bengal, forcibly seized the capital². Yuzbaki hurriedly returned but only to be defeated and slain. This unauthorised occupation, in the tradition of Tughril and Yuzbak, was an open defiance, but Mahmud's government at the moment had too many anxieties to be able to take immediate action. Arslan was still ruling in Lakhnauti as a rebel when Minhaj closed his account (end of 1260). From the absence of coins in his name he does not appear to have assumed full sovereignty although he is stated to have never acknowledged Mahmud's authority³. An inscription at Barahdari, Bihar, dated in 663/1264 recording the erection of a tomb under the orders of his son and successor Tatar Khan, fixes approximately the termination of his rule⁴.

Unlike Bengal, provinces nearer the capital had a comparatively peaceful history. Their proximity however made them more susceptible to events affecting the central government. The rebellions against Firoz, Raziah and Bahram, as described above, gathered momentum

¹ *Minhaj*, p. 226 and 313.

² *Ibid.*, p. 267; *Cf.* Salim: *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³ Barani, p. 66. *Cf.* Salim, p. 74, who, evidently mistaking Yuzbaki for Arslan, states that the latter sent presents to Delhi in 657/1259.

⁴ *JASB*, 1874, p. 247. A clearer reading is to be found in *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 23-25.

in Awadh and the Doab; aggressions from the semi-autonomous governors of Lakhnauti seemed a recurring feature. The Ganges-Jumna area being the heart of the Delhi kingdom, problems of its control demanded precedence over all others. With Balban's appointment, continuity of policy and action was assured and Delhi came closer to these provinces than ever before. The almost annual expeditions undertaken by Balban in 'Hindusthan' prevented the growth of any rebellious tendency.

From the end of Bahram's reign, the Mongols proved a far more serious distraction and as in the days of Iltutmish, Delhi's attention was perforce divided. By 653/1255 they menacingly advanced to complicate the situation in the Punjab and Sind; while Mahmud's government mobilised all its resources to meet them, potential rebels in Awadh found an opportunity to gather strength. The Sultan's stepfather, Qutlugh Khan, who held the province, belonged to the anti-Turkish faction which caused Balban's temporary dismissal¹. After Rayhan's removal from office Qutlugh became his closest ally and from the adjoining provinces of Awadh and Bahraich they proceeded to negative Mahmud's authority. Assured of their seditious designs Balban decided to remove Rayhan from office and sent Sanjar Sihwistani to take over Bahraich. Qutlugh came to his friend's help, intercepted Sanjar and eventually seized him. The latter, however, managed to escape and collecting a small force crossed the Saraju, gave battle to Rayhan and finally slew him². Shortly afterwards Qutlugh was ordered to take over Bahraich and leave Awadh. He refused to comply and openly revolted; he even succeeded in repelling a force sent to

Rebellion
in Awadh.

¹ Minhaj, p. 220.

² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

coerce him and killed one of the generals¹. Awadh thus threatened to be cut off from Delhi. Balban now personally took the field, whereupon the rebel sought safety in flight to the Himalayan foothills. Balban marched in pursuit but on failing to trace him consoled himself by plundering the neighbouring Hindu tribes and rajas suspected of harbouring the rebel². Immediately on Balban's withdrawal, early in 654/1256 Qutlugh emerged from his retreat, re-occupied Awadh and even sought to annex Karra and Manikpur³. Arslan Khan, who then held the province, however, succeeded in expelling him and Qutlugh once again retired to seek shelter with the chief of Santargarh in the Sirmur hills⁴. The Rana, whom Minhaj calls Ranpal, refused to give him up and Balban was obliged, in 655/1257, to plunder his territory as far as his capital. But the rebel continued to elude capture and lived to aim, as will appear presently, a far more serious blow at Delhi.

In the western provinces of the Punjab and Sind the central government's authority was equally at a disadvantage, not only because of the distance but also because of the continued Mongol pressure. Mangbarni had failed to organise any effective resistance in Persia and Iraq.

Insecurity of
hold on Sind
and Punjab.

The Mongols never caught him, but his gallant stand against terrible odds did no more than outline a singularly heroic character. Ghazni became a Mongol dependency even before his death. The accession of Uktae Khan to the Mongol Khanate was marked by a decision to gradually annex in the first instance, all the territories upto the Indus

¹ Minhaj, p. 220-21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 306. Balban is reported on this occasion to have penetrated as far as Bishenpur and Tirhut.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266 and 306-1.

and then to extend the operations to the Indian provinces¹. By the end of Raziah's reign the Mongols had reached the Chinab and the governors of the western provinces were hard put to maintain a single-handed resistance; Delhi's failure to send assistance left them little alternative but to evacuate the territory or submit to the invaders. In 639/1241 occurred the first organised attack on Lahore. The local governor appealed for reinforcements but the *wazir's* intrigues turned the royal army back to the capital. The governor was therefore obliged to flee the besieged city which fell the next morning². Although the Mongols withdrew shortly afterwards and Lahore was re-occupied, the province henceforth became "the frontier" where soon ambitious governors found good scope for self-assertion.

Immediately after Masud's accession Kabir Khan, the governor of Multan rebelled and not only assumed full sovereignty but also forcibly occupied the neighbouring province of Uch³. Delhi was powerless to dispossess him and even suffered his son Abu Bakr to succeed him in 639/1241⁴. Even Abu Bakr's death shortly afterwards did not improve matters for Delhi, for Hasan Qarlugh, after repeated attempts, now succeeded in installing himself in Multan⁵. A second Mongol invasion in 1245, however, gave Delhi an opportunity to reassert its authority. On the approach of the Mongols Hasan Qarlugh evacuated Multan and fled to lower Sind; Kabir Khan's descen-

Kabir Khan and
Hasan Qarlugh.

¹ Minhaj, pp. 382-83, 388, 392-93; see also Howorth: *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 126-127.

² For details see *infra* p. 200.

³ Minhaj, p. 235.

⁴ *Idem*.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 399.

dants¹, who held Uch, found themselves powerless to oppose the invaders and urgently appealed to Delhi for help, thus giving a tacit recognition to Mahmud's sovereignty. Balban immediately responded and marched with a strong force, whereupon the Mongols withdrew². The event thus enabled Delhi to recover control over Sind. Multan was placed under Kashlu Khan while Uch was temporarily left with Kabir Khan's family³. Kashlu Khan was later allowed to annex Uch on the understanding that he should relinquish Nagor which he formerly held; the condition however, had to be enforced at the point of sword⁴. In 1249 Hasan Qarlugh returned from lower Sind and renewing his attacks on Multan forced Kashlu Khan to surrender the city. But Qarlugh was not destined to retain possession, for Multan was soon after recovered by Sher Khan, the governor of Bhatinda⁵. Probably under instructions from Balban, he not only refused to restore it to Kashlu Khan, but, in 649/1251, even dispossessed him of Uch as well⁶.

Kashlu Khan was compensated with the governorship of Budaun but he nursed a grievance and secretly allied himself with the anti-Balbani faction. As the first step towards Balban's dismissal, Changes in Sind. with Rayhan and Qutlugh he persuaded Mahmud to dispossess Sher Khan. This appears to have been the motive behind the expedition to-

¹ Minhaj, p. 287; see also p. 399.

² *Ibid*, pp. 200, 287 and 399.

³ *Ibid*, p. 269.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 270.

⁵ The date of Hasan Qarlugh's second occupation of Multan is inferential. Sher Khan's recapture of the city is dated in 648/1250. It must have happened after his dispossession from Nagour which was placed under Kashlu Khan who was at the same time appointed *amir-i-hajib*, in 647; see pp. 214 and 295.

⁶ Minhaj, p. 271-72. Sher Khan's deputy at Multan, Malik Kurez sent a number of Mongol prisoners to Delhi in 648/1250. See also Haji Dabir, II, p. 715.

wards "Uch and Multan" in 650/1252 in which the leading members of the faction were specially instructed to be present with their forces¹; Balban was formally dismissed during this expedition, from the camp on the Beas, early in 651/1253. Finding his enemies in power Sher Khan left Sind and retired to Turkestan; the provinces of Uch, Multan and Bhatinda were recovered from his retainers and placed, for the time being, under Arslan Khan, who appears to have ultimately joined Qutlugh's party². On Rayhan's eventual dismissal and transference to Awadh, Kashlu Khan was restored to his former provinces of Multan and Uch shortly after 653/1255³. Firmly installed there, he now threw off his mask of loyalty and transferred his allegiance to Hulaku, the newly appointed Mongol viceroy of Iran, and even received a Mongol agent⁴. By this treachery he made a present of the whole of Sind to the Mongols. Mahmuḍ's government was hardly in a position to attempt its recovery, for a direct hostility with the dreaded Mongols was beyond its resources.

Thus secure under Mongol tutelage, Kashlu remembered his old enmity to Balban and planned revenge. Early in 655/1257 he marched his troops along the Beas to the Himalayan foothills in order to effect a junction with Qutlugh Khan, his old friend and ally whom Balban had failed to trace in the Sirmur hills. They met and their joint army marched towards Delhi⁵. The threat was serious and required great resourcefulness to meet it. Balban equipped a powerful force and moved out to

Kashlu Khan,
a Mongol vassal.

¹ Minhaj, pp. 216, 266, and 271; c. Haji Dabir, II, p. 723.

² Minhaj, pp. 218 and 266.

³ He appears in possession of Multan and Uch sometime before 655/1257; Minhaj, 272.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

meet them near Samana. As the two forces prepared for engagement a party of Delhi ecclesiastics sent a secret invitation to Kashlu Khan promising to deliver the city. The news somehow leaked out and reached Balban who immediately instructed the Sultan at Delhi to banish all the conspirators. Unaware of this turn of events and expecting an easy entrance, Kashlu avoided a frontal battle and eluding Balban's forces managed to reach Delhi. There he learnt that his partisans had been expelled and that the citizens were determined to put up a strong defence. It is not known what happened to Qutlugh, for he is not mentioned again, but Kashlu Khan is stated to have given up the project and retired to Uch¹. Shortly afterwards he paid a visit to Hulaku in Iraq², the object being probably to induce him to lend armed assistance for the occupation of Delhi. In any case, a Mongol army under Sali Bahadur came towards the end of 655/1259 to take up quarters in Sind³. The Mongols however, did not invade Delhi territory; the preparations set on foot by Balban early in 656 culminated only in a military parade outside the city.

When and in what manner Kashlu Khan's rebellion was terminated can never be known satisfactorily, for Minhaj's account closes abruptly. Isami speaks of an expedition to Multan led by Balban against Kashlu Khan (called by his nickname of Balban-i-zar) some years after 656 which seems to throw some light on the problem. On the approach of the Delhi forces Kashlu left his son Muhammad in Multan and himself retired to the Punjab to 'bring that country under his control.'

¹ Minhaj, pp. 307-310.

² *Ibid*, p. 273.

³ *Ibid*, p. 225 and 310.

The people of Multan surrendered to Balban whereupon Muhammad fled and joined his father. The latter realised his own weakness and withdrawing from the Punjab took up his quarters in Baniyan. From there he is reported to have twice attempted the recovery of Multan with Mongol assistance¹. The proceedings of Sali Bahadur in Sind are equally obscure; it seems likely that Balban's diplomacy succeeded in effecting a kind of non-aggression pact with Hulaku and that the recovery of Sind was more the result of mutual agreement than military action². In any case, when the curtain is again lifted by Barani after six years, we find Balban conferring the Sind viceroyalty on his eldest son and no reference is made to its recent recovery from the Mongols.

¹ *Futuh-us-Salatīn*, pp. 147-150. For the date see p. 141.

² For reasons of this surmise see *infra* chapter IX.

CHAPTER VI.

HINDU AGGRESSION : 1235-1265.

The dominant feature in the period following Iltutmish's death was the recovery of Hindu military energy. His work was nearly nullified when military stagnation, consequent upon the disorders described in the preceding pages, afforded an opportunity to the native powers, not only to recover their lost territories but even to make an attempt to expel the conquerors. They failed in the latter objective but succeeded in definitely putting a stop to further expansion.

Reference has been made to the beginning of hostilities with the kings of Orissa. Narasinha I, (1238-1264), "the second great king of the eastern Ganga dynasty,"¹ sensing the paralyzing dissension that had seized the Turkish State, launched a vigorous drive against Lakhnauti and nearly succeeded in taking the city. Frequent raids across the Lakhanor frontier in the past appeared to have produced no retaliatory measure in Orissa, but Narasinha correctly assessed the Turkish strength. Taking advantage of Tughan Khan's failure in his Awadh expedition, the Orissan forces promptly attacked his frontier post in 641/1243². The action

¹ Banerji: *History of Orissa*, I, p. 263.

² Minhaj, p. 243. The author refers to the "Bai of Jajnagar", which scholars generally agree, must mean Orissa. The Muslims called the country by the name of its capital, probably identical with Jajpur, on the Vaitarani, which, till the 18th century, was called Jajnagar; *JASB*,

signalised the beginning of concentrated attack by the Hindu power not only in Bengal but on all fronts. Tughan Khan repulsed the attack and invaded Jajnagar in turn. He advanced as far as a place, named by the chronicler as "Katasin," probably located in the northeastern part of Narasinha's dominion¹. There, after a temporary success, Tughan's troops were routed. Retreating pell mell to his capital and with Narasinha's forces in close pursuit, Tughan sent an urgent appeal to Delhi for succour. This however, required time to arrive during which the Orissan army, under the command of one Samanta Rai, crossed the frontier and captured Lakhanor. As the invaders advanced towards Lakhnauti Tughan could only entrench himself within the city and helplessly watch the Hindus marching unopposed to his capital. In his desperation he offered battle but was easily defeated and compelled to withdraw into the city, which was now closely besieged. A timely news of the approach of the Delhi reinforcements under Tamur Khan, however, saved the situation, for Samanta Rai lost courage, raised the siege and withdrew; but on the way he thoroughly plundered the countryside².

1875, p. 285. Banerji thought Jajunagar referred to modern Jajallanagar in the Chattisgarh division of the Central provinces; *History of Orissa*, I, p. 249. On the Mahanadi, however, was a town called Jajatinagar, which might have been persianised into Jajnagar; see *EI*, III, p. 365. It is also mentioned in the *Pavanadutam* of Dhoyi, as the last stage before the wind-messenger reaches the *Sukma* country (south-central Bengal); *JASB*, 1905, p. 44.

¹ Minhaj, p. 244. Raverty's identification of Katasin with Katasingh, on the Mahanadi, would place the eastern frontier of Orissa about 200 miles southwest of Bengal's present frontiers, whereas Orissa is known to have held considerable tracts of southwest Bengal; Banerji: *History of Orissa*, I, p. 264. N. Vasu's identification with the present Raibaniagarh in the Midnapur district seems more plausible; *Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, XVI, p. 132, note 1.

² Minhaj, p. 244-45.

For the first time since Aibak's days a native army invested a Muslim city and returned unmolested. It produced no tangible military result, except, possibly, the loss of the Lakhanor frontier station, but it thoroughly demonstrated the Sultanate's weakness. The moral effect was almost magical and within a few years the whole of Hindu India awakened to aggressive military action.

The subsequent course of the war with Orissa has not been chronicled; Tamur Khan and Masud Jani's rule is not known in detail. It seems unreasonable to believe that Orissa assumed a pacific attitude after such a triumph. The frontier town of Lakhanor is not mentioned again; an extension of Narasinha's dominions in Bengal can well be presumed. Some such development, in any event, led to the renewal of hostilities soon after Yuzbak's appointment in 1253-54. After two victories on Orissan soil he suffered a defeat. In magnitude it must have been similar to that of Tughan, for like him he appealed to Delhi for assistance. On the arrival of reinforcements he invaded Orissa for the fourth time and pushed as far as Umar-dan or Amardan—for different variants are found in the texts—"the capital of the Rai" and is even stated to have captured his treasure and family¹. It is extremely doubtful if this 'victory' proved decisive or resulted in any territorial advantage, for Narasinha also claimed not only to have defeated the "*Javanas*" but also to have reached the Ganges victoriously after despatching "the *Javanas* of *Rarh* and *Varendri*"². Besides, Umardan, the place reported to have been

¹ Minhaj, p. 262-63.

² *JASB*, LXV, p. 229-37. In a Sanskrit work named *Ekavali*, Narasinha is called the "master of the *Javana* Kingdom"; see Banerji: *History of Orissa*, p. 267; *Banglar Itihasa*, II, p. 75.

captured, can hardly refer to any place in the interior of Orissa, much less to Narasinha's capital; a very plausible suggestion is to look for it in the Arambagh subdivision of the Hooghly district¹. Yuzbak's victory, at best, must have been gained over some local feudatory on the frontier; a probable recovery of a part of the lost territories on this region cannot be ruled out. It was obviously to commemorate some such local gain, either in territory, or in tribute, that he issued a silver coin in 653/1255, allegedly struck "from the *kharaj* of Arazbadan (Umardan)"².

After Yuzbak's death no further conflict with Orissa is recorded by the Muslim historians, although the continuance of a state of belligerency should perhaps be presumed. It may be mentioned here that a grant of Narasinha II, dated in 1296 A. D. states that it was issued while the king was encamped on the Ganges in the course of a 'conquering expedition'. Apparently the Orissa kings retained their possessions in south west Bengal; with Balban's abandonment of the policy of expansion, Lakhnauti barely managed to exist.

The inclusion of the name of "N^ādia" by Yuzbak in the commemorative coin mentioned above, is the only definite evidence of territorial extension after Bakhtiyar's occupation of the Lakhanor-Lakhnauti-Devkot area. Whether after Lakshmanasena's death the Senas permanently retired from southwest

Reconquest
of Nadia.

¹ M. Chakravarti, in *JASB*, V, (N.S.), p. 216-17, suggests that it may refer to Mandar or Mandaran, on the borders of Midnapur, a place of considerable antiquity. Throughout the medieval period the fort at Mandaran held great strategic importance and commanded the highway from Burdwan to Orissa. See also Raverty's note, *Trans. Tab. Nas.* p. 763.

² *CCIM*, II, p. 146, No. 61.

³ *JASB*, LXV, p. 229; also Vasu, N.N., *Viswakosa*, article on *Gangeya*; cf. Banerjee: *History of Orissa*, I, p. 273.

Bengal is a moot point; there is certainly no evidence of Muslim occupation of the Bhagirathi region after Bakhtiyar's return from Nadia. Petty princes, independent after Lakshmana's death, ruled in Southern Bengal and an extension of their dominion over Nadia and its neighbourhood, cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, the Ganga kings of Orissa held the greater portion of the *Rarh* country and were as yet in full possession of their power. Their past hostility with the Senas, the contiguity of their possessions with Nadia and the frequent references to their 'reaching the Ganges',—meaning undoubtedly the Bhagirathi—all point to the probability that they took advantage of the Sena weakness and occupied the *Suhma* country. The mention of "Nodia" along with "Arzbadan"—if the latter is really to be identified with Umardan of the chronicle—also seems to suggest that both the places were captured from the same enemy and probably in course of the same war. The mention of revenue (*kharaaj*) being collected from Nadia, as also from Arzbadan, should perhaps indicate direct annexation.

Recorded operations in east Bengal (Bang and Kamrud) were confined to occasional raids with little territorial advantage. Lakshmana's successors, Kesava and Viswarupa, frequently claim to have defeated and repulsed the "*Javanas*".¹ After Saifuddin Aibak we do not hear of any expeditions to 'Bang' till the time of Yuzbaki, who, as noticed above, was dispossessed of Lakhnauti while campaigning in the East.

The neighbouring kingdom of Kamrup also proved a strong military power and the elephant-hunting expe-

¹ *JASB*, 1896, pp. 9-15; *X*, (N.S.), pp. 99-104.

ditions by the Lakhnauti governors proved more hazardous than before. Kamrup was an extensive kingdom comprising the country from the Karatoya and north-eastern Mymensingh to Gauhati, where the capital seems to have been located. Since Bakhtiyar's ill-fated expedition no large-scale attempt had been made to penetrate the Brahmaputra valley. Kamrup thus gathered sufficient strength to deal a crushing blow to any one emulating Bakhtiyar's example. The ambitious Yuzbak fell into this trap. Considering Lakhnauti too small for his ambitions, shortly after 1255, he collected a large force and crossed the Karatoya into Kamrup. He met no resistance, for the king, adopting his traditional strategy, withdrew to the hills and allowed the invader to march unopposed to the capital. Yuzbak there proclaimed himself king of 'Lakhnauti and Kamrup' and instituted the Friday religious services; "the signs of Islam thus became manifest in Kamrup." The Hindu king then sent to offer his submission and requested to be restored as a tributary vassal promising to continue the "coin and the *khutba* in Yuzbak's name." The latter refused the offer and evidently meant to stay there. Relying on the country's flourishing crops and with a criminal lack of foresight he, foolishly however, sold all his grain stock to the agents of the Kamrup king who in pursuance of his plan, meant to starve the invaders. A terrible situation therefore confronted Yuzbak when he found the entire harvest destroyed by the flood caused by deliberate cutting of the embankments by the Hindu forces. Faced with the prospect of utter starvation he thereupon resolved to withdraw. The route through the plains having been rendered impassable by the floods, he

Invasion of
Kamrup.

had to move along the foot of the Garo and Khasi hills towards Mymensingh. As the army proceeded through the narrow defiles, the Kamrup forces came up in the rear and, assisted by the hill people, literally annihilated the entire army. Yuzbak himself was wounded and taken prisoner and later died of his wounds¹. It was a reverse similar in magnitude to that of Bakhtiyar and further emboldened the north Indian princes to become increasingly aggressive.

Muslim hold on Magadha (South Bihar) was never extensive; only a narrow strip along the Ganges containing the original possession of Uddandapur Vihar, carried the route from Benares through the Shahabad, Patna, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts. To the south, independent princes surviving the Sena-Gahdvala dominion, held sway. Tibetan records extend the rule of the line of princes calling themselves *Pithipatis*, whose inscriptions have been discovered round Bodhgaya, far into the 13th century and describe them as vassals of the Turks². In Bodhgaya itself are records inscribed by the ruling chiefs of Kama (Kumaon) and Sapadalaksha, whose dates suggest a continuous occupation of the district by the Hindus, upto, at least, the reign of Balban³. It is uncertain

¹ Minhaj, pp. 263-65. On his way to Kamrup Yuzbak is reported to have crossed the Bagmati; this must refer either to the Karatoya or the Brahmaputra. See note 3, *supra* p. 77. Raverty asserts that the Kamrup capital was at Kamtapur, on the Darlah river, far to the west of Gauhati; *Trans. Tab. Nas.*, p. 764, note. But the capital was not transferred from Gauhati till towards the end of the 13th century. See Barua: *History of Kamrup*, p. 199. Two coins of Yuzbak dated 653 were discovered at Gauhati; *JASB*, 1910, p. 261.

² Bay: *Dynastic History*, I, p. 939; *IA*, 1875, p. 366; 1919, p. 47; *DHBI*, pp. 259-61. The last date on their inscriptions so far discovered however, corresponds to 1202-3; *IA*, 1890, pp. 1-3.

³ Asokacalla, the king of Kama, his brother and his priest figure in these inscriptions which are dated in the years *La. Sam.* 51/1170-71, 74/1198-94, and the year 1813 of the *Nirvana* era which, according to Fleet, should correspond to 1270, A.D. *EI*, XII, p. 27; *JASB*, V, p. 658;

if the Mahanayakas of Rhotasgarh, one of whose feudatories is found donating lands near Sasaram in 1197¹, survived in the 13th century, but extension of Muslim power towards the south, in the first half of the century, is certainly not indicated by the chronicles; nor does it seem probable. On the contrary, even the town of Bihar appears to have suffered from Hindu aggression; for early in the reign of Mahmud, the governor, Kuret Khan, is said to have lost his life in repelling what was evidently a siege². By what process Muslim power was re-established in the region is not known; it should in any case, be supposed to have preceded Balban's accession, for in 1265 Bihar was certainly in Muslim control. Recognition of Balban's suzerainty is implied by the inclusion of his name (written Birubana) in a Sanskrit inscription of a resident of Gaya, named Vanaraja, dated in V.S. 1325/1268 A.D.³. If credence is to be placed in the bardic annals recounting Rajput attempts in the 13th century to free Gaya and other holy places from the Turks⁴, direct annexation of the district must be presumed, which seems highly improbable. Balban's declared policy of defensive consolidation would accord, at best, only with an acknowledgment of his paramountcy, most probably, as the Tibetan account asserts, from the *Pithipatis*.

As a continuous process, Hindu aggression was most in evidence along the Sultanate's southern frontier.

1A, X, p. 346; JASB, 1913, p. 72-73. For Fleet's calculation see JASB, 1909, p. 48-49. Bhandarkar, however, holds that the year 1813 of the Nirvana era should correspond to 1175; EI, XX, Appendix, p. 199, see also Kielhorn's list: EI, V, p. 79, inscr. No. 575. Bhagvanlal Indraji's calculation made it correspond to 1182; 1A, 1887, p. 341. See also JASB, XVII, (N.S.), p. 13.

¹ EI, XXII, p. 222.

² Minhaj, p. 269.

³ Cunningham: Reports, III, p. 27; also Kielhorn's list: EI, V, No. 23.

⁴ Gaya Gazetteer, p. 28.

Iltutmish's recovery plan, as it appears, had only a temporary success, for after him, his dominions were subjected to even greater encroachments. Two grants found at Rewah, issued by the Maharajana of Kakka-
Rajput power
in the south.redi, and dated in 1240 and 1241 respectively, acknowledge Trailokyavarma of Kalinjar as the overlord, thus proving an extension of Chandella power to the east'. An extension towards the west also is indicated by the discovery, at Jhansi, of a Chandella inscription dated in 1263 A.D.² The Dahi copper plate of Viravarma dated in V. S. 1337/1280, records the donation of some villages to a man who had conquered "the Turushkas, the rajas of Nalpur, (Narwar) Gopal Madhuban (Mathurah) and Gopagiri (Gwalior)"³. Viravarma, in another of his grants dated in 1254, and his successor Hanumiravarma, in that of 1289, call themselves "Lords of Kalinjar"⁴. From the traditions current around Mahoba and Hamirpur, in the northwest of Bundelkhand, this part appears to have been recovered by the Bhar Rajputs who ruled from about 1252 to at least 1280⁵. Just south of the Jumna, within less than hundred miles from the 'iqta' of Karra, a new dynasty rose in what is now Bundelkhand. According to the chronicles of the Baghelas of Rewah, Vyaghra, the founder of the dynasty, made himself master of most of the countries between Kalpi and Chunar, while his son, Karna Deva.

¹ *IA*, 1888, p. 230; Cunningham: *Reports* XXI, p. 246-7; see also Ray; *Dynastic History*, II, p. 728.

² *EI*, V, p. 33, No. 227; *IA*, XIX, p. 179, No. 128.

³ Cunningham: *Reports*, XXI, p. 75. The grant is now lost.

⁴ *EI*, XX, p. 132 and 135.

⁵ *JASB*, 1881, pp. 32-37. Cf. *JASB*, 1902 page 99, where, on the authority of a 17th century history of the Bundelas, their rise to power under Bir Bundela is placed in the first half of the 13th century. Bundela rule is stated to have extended from Kalpi to Kalinjar and also over Awadh and the Doab.

subsequently added the valley of the Tons river¹. Most of the countries south of the Jumna thus passed to the Rajputs.

Expeditions undertaken against the Hindu princes in this region had a limited success; they merely underlined the military problem. Tamur Khan, the governor of Awadh, is described as having led several expeditions to plunder the territory of "Bhatighor," an old name of the Tons valley², evidently against the rising Baghela power³. Malik Kikluk, the governor of Budaun, is also said to have been preparing to lead his forces into Kalinjar and Mahoba when he died of poison⁴. In 645/1247 Balban himself led a strong force against a Hindu chief whom Minhaj calls 'Dalaki-wa-Malaki'. He was reported to have established himself in the country between Kalinjar and Karra and was described as "independent of the *Rais* of Kalinjar and Malwah and immensely powerful". But Balban succeeded only in plundering a portion of his territory and capturing his stronghold; the chief after a severe resistance, was able to withdraw with all his forces⁵.

In the neighbourhood of Gwalior, south of the Jumna, an equally strong power established itself in the person of Chaharadeva, who supplanted the Pariharas of Narwar sometime after 1247 and founded the Jajapella dynasty. We have had occasion to refer to his rising power in connection with Malik Tayasai's campaigns

The Jajapellas
of Narwar.

¹ Cunningham: *Reports*, XXI, p. 104; see also *MASI*, No. 21, p. 12.

² Cunningham: *op. cit.* XXI, p. 154.

³ Minhaj, p. 247.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 257.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 291; Cunningham, *op. cit.* XXI, p. 106, identified this person with Dalakeswar and Malakeswar of the Baghela chronicles. Smith tried to read in this the name of the Bhar chieftain, supposed to have been ruling in Etah, Cawnpur, Fatehpur, etc., called Tiloki and Biloki; *JASB*, 1881, p. 34. Ray, thinks that he may be identical with Trailokyavarma of the Chandella dynasty; *Dynastic History*, II, p. 720-30.

⁶ Minhaj, p. 211 and 292.

towards the end of Iltutmish's reign. The earliest date on his coins found in Gwalior, Jhansi and Narwar, cannot be anterior to 1233'. His power must have grown rapidly for, soon after his establishment at Narwar, the Muslim chronicler refers to him as "the greatest of all the *Rais* of Hindusthan and in command of a great army"². From Narwar he commenced operation against the Muslim garrison of Gwalior. It was obviously to reinforce the fortress that Raziah early in her reign, sent an expedition under Tamur Khan³, towards "Gwalior and Malwah". The position, however, soon became untenable and not long afterwards she sent another force to withdraw the military and civil personnel and escort it back to Delhi. Gwalior had thus to be abandoned to Chaharadeva who therein found a secure base for aggressions against the Muslim dominions. In 649/1251 Balban found it necessary to lead a full-scale expedition against the "Rana Chahir Ajari". The extent of his dominions is probably indicated by the mention of "Gwalior, Chanderi, Narwar and Malwah" towards which Balban marched his forces on this occasion⁴. Though he gained some success and even managed to capture Narwar and also Gwalior, Chaharadeva's discomfiture proved temporary⁵. For, from the evidence of coins, he certainly ruled in independence upto at least 1259⁶. Records of his successors have also been found in Gwalior and Narwar. The last date on the coins of his successor Asalladeva is probably 1283; the last two princes of the dynasty, named Gopala and

¹ Cunningham: *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 93; Thomas: *Chronicles* p. 70.

² Minhaj, p. 215-16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 215. Cf. Cunningham: *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 91 and *EI*, VII, p. 223-24, where this Chaharadeva is mixed up with Naharadeva (Nahardeo) who according to Minhaj, ruled in Ranthambhor.

⁵ Minhaj, pp. 216, 278, and 297.

⁶ Cunningham: *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 93.

Ganapati, are known from coins and inscriptions whose dates range from V.S. 1337 to 1355/1280 to 1298¹.

The hold on Rajputana was also seriously jeopardised. After Iltutmish's death a concentrated attack was opened on Ranthambhor by the dispossessed Chauhanas under the leadership of Bhagavata. Early in the reign of Raziah

Revival of
Chauhana power,

Chauhana pressure compelled her to

send reinforcements to relieve the garrison. Like Gwalior the fortress was however, found difficult to hold; its fortifications were therefore dismantled and the garrison withdrawn². The *Hamira-Maha-Kavya*, while referring to this liberation of Ranthambhor and the foundation therein of the later Chauhana dynasty, adds that Bhagavata entered into an alliance with the "*Kharaparas*" who are stated to have long been in hostility with the Muslims³. The extent of the Chauhana dominion at this time is difficult to determine; the territory called Mewat by the Muslim writers, which is always coupled with Ranthambhor by Minhaj, probably acknowledged Chauhana rule. It is also likely that they exercised suzerainty over the collateral dynasty of Bundi which, according to Tod, was founded a few years earlier⁴. In an inscription found in the Kotah state, Jaitra Sinha, the son and successor of Bhagavata, is mentioned as having repeatedly defeated the Paramaras of Malwah and at the end imprisoned the king at Ran-

¹ *IA*, 1918, p. 241.

² Minhaj, p. 187.

³ *IA*, 1879, p. 68. Raziah is referred to under the name of Jalaluddin, the official name which she used in some of her coins and inscriptions; see *CCIM*, II, p. 2, and No. 93; also the Sanskrit inscription at Palam, dated in 1280-81: *EIM*, 1913, p. 43. Cf. Ray: *op. cit.* II, p. 1095. The Kharparas seem to be identical with the 'Kharparakas' mentioned as a Hindu army commanded by the governor of the 'Cheli country, under Mahmud, the ruler of Joginipura', in an inscription, dated in 1328, and found near Damoh in the Central provinces; *EI*, XIII, p. 44. For their suggested identification with the Khekaras (Khokars) see *IA*, 1879, P. 64.

⁴ *Annals*, II, p. 459; Erskine: *Rajputana Gazetteer*, p. 236-37.

thambhor¹. The revival of Chauhana power and the extension of its paramountcy was thus a factor which worked against the continuance of Muslim rule in Rajputana. The Guhelots of Mewar were also rising in power at this time; in his inscriptions which range in date from 1213 to 1252, Jaitrasinha claims to have defeated the rulers of Malwah, Gujrat, Marwar, and also the Turushkas². Suggestive of the diminishing hold of the Muslims in Rajputana is the fact that we no longer hear of the *iqtas* of Lawah, Kasili and Sambhar which figured not infrequently in the account of Iltutmish's reign.

To curb the growing power of the Chauhanas Balban led an expedition in 646/1248 towards Ranthambhor and Mewat³. The chronicle records the destruction of a great number of towns, but Balban's efforts, was evidently repulsed in his attack on the fortress, in course of which one of his leading generals was killed⁴. That he could make little headway against Ranthambhor on this occasion is proved by the fact that during his banishment from the court to his *iqta* of Nagaur, he is reported to have successfully raided the territories of "Ranthambor, Bundi and Chitrur (Chitor)". Although the Rai, whom Minhaj calls Nahardeo, opposed him with a large force, Balban is yet credited with returning with immense booty and spoils⁵. Such expeditions were continued until his accession; in 657/1258 we are told of a similar expedition against the "infidels of Ranthambhor", who

¹ Quoted in Ojha : *Rajputana*, I, p. 203.

² *Vienna Oriental Journal*, XXI; "The Chirwa Inscription". *IA*, 1928, p. 32; see also *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 93.

³ *Minhaj*, p. 213.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 293-94.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 299; see *IA*, 1928, p. 32 for a reference to this event in an inscription of Jaitra Sinha of Chitor.

however, do not appear to have suffered any appreciable loss¹.

Reference has been made in a previous section to the establishment of a branch of the Jadon Bhatti Rajputs of Bayana, in what the chronicle describes as the '*koh-payah* of Mewat', in northern Alwar.

The Mewatis.

These Rajputs, it is generally admitted, were the progenitors of the Mews and the Khan-zadahs, who came into prominence early in the 16th century, and who, according to Cunningham, were not converted to Islam until the reign of Firoz Tughluq². Throughout the 13th century, therefore, the whole of Mewat was held by the Hindu Jadon Bhattis who almost isolated the Muslim stronghold of Bayana. Allying themselves with the Chauhanas and other dynasties in eastern Rajputana they commenced what should be termed a guerilla war against the Muslims. Early in the reign of Bahram, Balban was obliged to send punitive columns from his *iqta* of Riwari (in the Gurgaon district, near Mewat) against the 'Hindu rebels of *Kohpayah*'. The frequent mention of Ranthambhor in connection with operations in Mewat⁴ connects the Mewati 'rebellion' with the Chauhanas and makes it exceedingly probable that the alleged Mewati trouble was but an organised offensive against Delhi. The Rajputs even carried the offensive into the Delhi territory itself. In 655/1256 when Mahmud's government was pre-occupied with Qutlugh Khan's rebellion and the Mongol advance, the Mewatis under a man named Malka, made a daring raid on Hansi and carried away cattle which they distributed among the Raj-

¹ Minhaj, p. 266.

² Cunningham: *Reports*, XX, p. 11. Minhaj always refers to the Mewatis as infidels. See also Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 238.

³ Minhaj, p. 285.

⁴ See for instance, pp. 213 and 292.

puts living as far as Ranthambhor¹. They also raided the districts of 'Harianah (Delhi province), Siwalikh and Bayana.' Towards the end of Mahmud's reign they grew bolder and committed robbery and loot in the capital itself in broad daylight. In 658/1258 Balban led two apparently ineffective expeditions. All he achieved was to plunder a few Mewati villagers, slaying a number of them including Malka². The opening remarks in Barani's history sufficiently prove the continued intensity of this Rajput aggression. The power of Ranthambhor grew rapidly under Jaitrasinha and his more famous son, the valorous Hammira. In the latter's inscription, Jaitrasinha is credited with having vanquished the kings of Malwa, Ambar and also of 'Kerkalagiri'³. Hammira asserted his supremacy over Malwah, Chitor, Mewar, Abu, Ajmer, Sambhar and the whole of northern Rajputana⁴. Even the Rawal Samarasinha of Mewar is described as having "lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land high out of the Turushka sea"⁵.

In the southwest, the Chauhanas of Jalor also repudiated the vassalage imposed by Iltutmish on Udaisinha. His successor, Chachigadeva, not only asserted his independence but, as appears from inscriptions, assumed a conquering role and wrested Mandor from the Paramaras⁶; his successors finally annexed their capital at Chandravati, towards the end of the century⁷. On the extreme west of Rajputana, the Bhattis of Jaisalmer effectually blocked the

¹ *Minhaj*, p. 313.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 314-316.

³ *EI*, XIX, p. 45-47.

⁴ *IA*, 1879, p. 64-65.

⁵ *IA*, 1887, p. 347.

⁶ *EI*, XI, pp. 55-73. Even Udaisinha seems to have reasserted his independence soon after his defeat by Iltutmish; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part I, pp. 474-76.

⁷ *EI*, IX, p. 87; Ojha: *Rajputana*, I, p. 180.

Muslims from getting a foothold in that region¹.

The authority of Delhi was thus being negated almost everywhere. Even in Awadh and the Doab, the heart of the kingdom, Hindus found means to

Hindu power
in Awadh.

assume an aggressive attitude. In 642/1244 the tribes of "Jarali and Datoli" in the Doab, were reported to

have infested the highways and forests of Hindusthan². It took Balban two sanguinary expeditions in 1244 and 1249 to obtain a temporary control over the area³. A Hindu chief captured the fort of Talsandah in the district of Kanouj and a strong force had to be despatched to recover it in 645/1247⁴. In the trans-Gangetic area, the Katehriyas, from their stronghold at Ahicchatra, frequently raided the districts of Budaun and Sambhal. An expedition led by the governor of Budaun in 1242, in which a number of the 'Katehriya infidels were overthrown,' was apparently ineffective, for in 1254 another attempt had to be made on a larger scale⁵. Led by Balban himself, the Delhi forces on this occasion, crossed the Ganges and advanced upto Bijour and Bardar as far as the Ramganga. The Katehriyas offered sustained resistance and killed one of Balban's officers⁶. Although the chronicle states that they were punished in an exemplary manner on this occasion, in reality they were far from being effectively reduced. They appeared with even greater strength early in the reign of Balban. The

¹ Cf. Tod: *Annals*, I, p. 247, who asserts that a certain Muzaffar Khan, governor of Nagaur, was defeated by Kurramdeo (1251-71). See also *CHI*, III, p. 531.

² The place names are doubtful; they are also written Jalali and Diwali. See Raverty's note: *Trans. Tab. Nas.* p. 809.

³ *Minhaj*, pp. 213 and 287.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210. Cunningham identified Talsandah with the village now known as Bilsar, ten miles north of Etah; *Reports*, XI, p. 21-22.

⁵ *Minhaj*, p. 256.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 218. Cf. Cunningham's identification of Bardar with Panjor in the Patiala state; *Reports*, XIV, p. 70.

success of Kashlu Khan, the governor of Meerut, who is reported to have reduced a portion of Rohilkhand across the Ganges near Bijnour and to have "overthrown *Ranahs* and other independent Hindu tribes inhabiting places as far as Rurki and Miapur"¹ could be hardly permanent. The only tangible result of his operations seemed to be the establishment of a military outpost in Amroha, for the first time mentioned as an *iqta* early in the reign of Balban².

¹ *Minhaj*, p. 280.

² Barani, p. 36.

CHAPTER VII.

SECURITY AND CONSOLIDATION: 1265-1287.

For nearly twenty years Mahmud reigned but he never ruled. His piety and simplicity may have been overstressed but of his unassertive nature and weak resolution there can be little doubt¹.

Balban as *naib*. His excessive modesty ill-served the king of a conquering race, for a strong will was an essential pre-requisite for Iltutmish's representative. The king's lack of vigour threatened to destroy respect for the crown. A change on the throne became necessary even in his own lifetime but Mahmud escaped his brother's fate because of the loyal and devoted service of the *naib*, Bahauddin Balban, the Ulugh Khan. Born of the Ilbari sept of the Turks, Balban was sold to slavery early in life and was eventually purchased by Iltutmish. How he rose in state service will have been noted in the foregoing chapters. His complicity in the revolution leading to Mahmud's accession seems more than probable; in the fourth year he established relationship by marrying his daughter to the young king. His promotion thereafter to the rank of Ulugh Khan and the post of *naib-i-mamlakat*, followed as a matter of course. The failure of Rayhan's intrigue improved his position; as the leader of the Turks solidly united to meet the threat of dispossession, he obtained a further lease of power.

¹ Ibn Battuta, 11, p. 26; Haji Dabir, 1, p. 726; *TA*, 1, trans. p. 92-93; Ferishta, 1, p. 74, summarised in Elphinstone: *History of India*, p. 371.

This power he, however, exercised purely in the interests of the crown. He infused vigour into the administration, and if his master's dynasty proved impossible to revitalise and perpetuate, he certainly helped in arresting the monarchy's downward progress. Forces of disintegration were constantly challenged and overcome; Hindu aggression was sought to be firmly resisted and, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, by a judicious combination of diplomacy and military action, he prevented the Mongols from having an easy walk-over. It is true, he substituted the domination of the *maliks* by that of his own, but despite Barani's introductory remarks, the Delhi Sultanate was demonstrably stronger at the end than it was at the beginning of Mahmud's reign.

How his reign terminated can never be known with certainty, for Minhaj died before the event and Barani's account opens with Balban's accession. The 14th century accounts of Ibn Battuta and Isami hold the latter guilty of poisoning his sovereign¹. It is however, difficult to put much credence to the story. Balban had very close relations with the royal family; both Masud and Mahmud were his sons-in-law; his own son, Bughra Khan, was married to the only daughter of Mahmud by a second wife². The line of Iltutmish was thus almost merged in his person, for Mahmud is not known to have left any male issue. Even as the *naib*, Barani tells us, he used to have the insignia of royalty³. His

¹ *Kitabur Rahlah*, II, p. 29; Isami, p. 158; Wassaf, f. 254b, probably copies from Ibn Battuta. The *TM*, p. 39, dates Mahmud's death on the 11th *Jamadi I*, 664.

² Barani, p. 23. Haji Dabir, II, p. 728; Amir Khusrau: *Qiranus-Sadain*, p. 18.

³ Barani, p. 26.

accession, in 664/1265¹, only formalising a long-practised usage, was thus almost in the nature of things and presumably unopposed.

His immediate task was to restore the crown's prestige and inspire respect for its sanctity and power. For, an effective answer to the Hindu and Mongol

Restoration of
Crown's prestige.

aggression could only come from an integrated and centralised state, symbolised by a strong, unquestioned monarchy. Iltutmish had only outlined the institution; it was left to Balban to regenerate and raise it to its full stature. Conscious of his lack of an absolute hereditary right to the throne he sought increased personal prestige by claiming descent from the mythical Turkish hero, Afrasiyab². By word and by deed he constantly emphasised the sacredness of the king's person and the awe which he should inspire in the hearts of his people. "Kingship is the embodiment of despotism" he said to his son Bughra Khan³ "The heart of the king is the special repository of God's favour and in this he has no equal among mankind" "It is the king's super-human awe and status," said he on another occasion, "which can ensure the people's obedience"⁴. Such despotism, he realised, exposed the king to great risks of assassination and so he lived constantly attended by body guards⁵. He never

¹ All the Mss. of Barani's history, as well as the printed text, date Balban's accession in 662/1263. But this is clearly wrong for the latest of Mahmud's coins is dated 1265; *CCBM: the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 26, no. 93. Alf places the accession two days after Mahmud's death on the 13th *Jamadi*, I, 664; f. 61a. Cf. also Haji Dabir, II, p. 725.

² Barani, p. 102. For an account of the Afrasiyabi Turks, see *JEAS*, 1898, pp. 467-502, Browne: *Trans. Chahar Maqala*, notes, p. 22; also Raverty: *trans. Tab. Nas.* pp. 900-910, note.

³ Barani, p. 37; see also pp. 40, 70-71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁵ See his advice to his heir-apparent to constantly beware of his enemies and to provide against assassination; Barani, p. 80. An earlier reference to this aspect of despotism is contained in the *Adabul Harb*, f. 12a.

wearied of impressing on his sons the crown's sanctity; the king's awe-inspiring grandeur was to reflect the state's power. He re-organised the court etiquette so as to manifest the order and splendour of his kingdom. Even before his accession, when a party of Mongol envoys from Hulaku visited Delhi in 1259-60, Balban carefully planned a splendid and colourful reception; the ambassadors left with a profound respect for the magnificence of the mighty Sultan of Delhi¹. The regalia of the Seljuq and Khwarizmi kings were faithfully copied and high-salaried, fearsome body-guards were appointed round the king's person to 'blind the onlookers' by their drawn swords dazzling in the sun. He insisted on the *sijda* and the *paibos* (prostration and kissing the monarch's feet) in the court and surrounded his person by pompous ceremonies "such as was never done by any other king of Delhi"². Even his private conduct he sought to make an embodiment of kingly dignity. A great convivialist in early life, he gave up drinking on accession and interdicted the use of wine by his courtiers. He firmly refused even to speak to the common people; a rich Delhi merchant offered all his wealth for the honour of one interview with the Sultan; his ambition was never fulfilled. Even to his personal attendants he never showed light-heartedness or betrayed his human feeling³. The death of his eldest son broke the old monarch's heart, and he melted in tears; but he disdained to show his weakness and to be seen mourning. He bore himself in steely coolness among his attendants, only to break down in heart-rending sobs in the midnight secrecy of his apartment. Ruthlessly he thus sacrificed himself to

¹ Minhaj, pp. 817-19.

² Barani, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 33-4.

the king in him. Mongol devastations also contributed to the enhancement of his prestige, for, as the only Muslim state not yet submerged under the Mongol flood, Delhi offered honourable asylum to eminent princes and men of letters who shed lustre on Balban's court. By allotting them residence in quarters named after their country or race his magnanimity received due recognition from his contemporaries as the saviour of Muslim culture¹.

To enhance respect for the crown he administered justice with extreme impartiality and the slightest disregard of his authority was attended with a punishment which verged on cruelty. Two high-ranking officers, the governors of Budaun and Awadh, were given exemplary punishment for reported cruelty to their personal slaves²; the general who was defeated by Tughril of Bengal, was hanged for his failure to carry out the royal command³. To ensure efficient and faithful discharge of duties he improved the system of espionage and placed secret reporters in every department. He took great pains in ascertaining the character and loyalty of the news writer (*barid*) whom he made one of the most potent instruments of his despotism⁴.

Balban's despotism was of the extreme kind in which the right of the military aristocracy even to a share, not to speak of domination, in the government, could
find no place. This absolutism he
 he worked out with singular success,
 for during his twenty years' deputyship,
 most of the leaders of the aristocracy—the 'forty'—had
 either died or been reduced to impotence. With the death

Consolidation
plan.

¹ Ferishta, I, p. 75; see also Barani, pp. 30-31, and p. 112.

² Barani, p. 40. The news writer of Budaun who had failed to report the governor's conduct in time was also publicly hanged.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44-45.

of his cousin, Sher Khan¹, of whose ambition and ability Balban was reported to have been highly apprehensive, he was left with no potential opponent to the execution of his policy. This development of the monarch's absolutism is the central event of his reign; success of his security measures followed as a direct consequence. The chronicler is markedly sparing in giving details of his fairly long reign of twenty years, but his achievements, so far as they have been recorded can be listed under the single heading of 'consolidation.' This included provisions for internal security, involving reforms in the army organisation and also a re-orientation of policy towards the unconquered Hindu powers. His foreign policy and defence measures, equally co-ordinated with his consolidation plans, we, however, propose to deal with fully in a separate chapter.

To perfect the coercive instrument of his authority, he turned his attention first of all to the army whose organizational deficiency had become noticeable during the last reign. The military
Reorganization
of the army. personnel was, as a result, greatly increased and officers of proved ability and loyalty were appointed to the commands. He enhanced the soldiers' pay and gave some of them assignment of villages in lieu of cash salary². Soon, however, he found out the disadvantages of this form of payment. In the second or third year of his accession, during an expedition to Lahore, he discovered that about two thousand cavalymen who, since the days of Iltutmish, held villages in the Doab in payment for personal service, had been failing in their duties. Most of the

¹ According to Barani, p. 65, he was poisoned to death by Balban's orders. His death is said to have occurred four or five years after Balban's accession.

² Barani, p. 29.

original assignees had either died or grown too old for military service; the rest stayed at home and lived on the assignments with the connivance of the war-office (*diwan-i arz*). Some even sent proxies, hired men, ill-equipped and utterly unsuited to military work; the heirs of the deceased troopers inherited their assignments and treated them as free gifts, or as rewards for past services. This was a scandalous state of affairs and seriously undermined the army's efficiency. After a thorough enquiry, Balban ordered a resumption of the assignments and the payment of compensation to the holders. The aged troopers, in recognition of their past services were given a fixed pension in cash; a similar gratuity was given to the widows and the minor heirs, while the able-bodied were enlisted in the regular army, their salary being made a first charge on the revenue of the village to be collected by the central exchequer. The resumption order however, evoked loud protests from the assignees; the old men approached Fakhruddin, the *kotwal* of Delhi and a respected friend of the king, and begged him to intercede on their behalf. The *kotwal* played on the feelings of the old monarch and succeeded in having the order concerning the aged holders rescinded. The rest appears to have been enforced¹. The chronicler leaves us only to infer that cash payment; henceforth became the rule for Balban's military personnel. Whether he realised the need for centralising the army like his Khalji successor, is a point on which little direct evidence is forthcoming. The assignment system certainly remained in force; improvement

¹ Barani, pp. 60, 61-64, *TM* and Haji Dabir make no mention of this event. *Ferishta* I, p. 78 only copies Barani. Cf. *CHI*, III, p. 77, where the entire measure is stated to have been dropped. The passage, however, does not permit such an interpretation.

of the provincial army continued to be the governor's concern; cash payment rule could only be enforced when it was accompanied by direct individual recruitment of the army. The aforesaid reforms were, in any case, confined to the central army which was entrusted to the care of Imadul Mulk, the *diwan-i-arz*. The latter enjoyed the Sultan's confidence and was made independent of the *wazir's* financial control. Imadul Mulk was a capable man; his honesty and scrupulous attention to the details of recruitment, pay and equipment of the troops vitalised the fighting services. Though no fundamental change in the military organisation seems to have been affected, yet the reforms, coupled with the expansion mentioned above, undoubtedly increased the fighting potential of the Sultanate.

Barani gives a graphic description of the unsettled conditions of life and property which prevailed during the latter part of Mahmud's reign. Even allowing for some calculated exaggeration in the statement, Balban's efforts in the past few years must be regarded as inconclusive. In the Doab and Awadh, roads were poor and infested with robbers who nearly severed all communication with the eastern provinces. Hindu peasants were in perpetual rebellion¹. In the neighbourhood of Delhi dense forests sheltered marauders, while the Mewatis came and plundered the suburbs with impunity. The Katehriya Rajputs also showed no signs of weakness but extended their depredations to Budaun and Amroha². Since the trans-Gangetic tract had only been partially conquered and most of the Rajput ruling families had sought refuge there from

Anarchical
conditions.

¹ Barani, p. 56.

² *Ibid*, p. 57.

the south, it appears highly probable that the rebellions in those parts were engineered by the dispossessed Rajputs and were of a political nature. In Furrukhabad, where the rebels found strongholds in Patiali and Kampil, the later Gahdvala princes are known to have had their headquarters.

The King's prestige, more than a concern for the people's welfare, demanded a concentrated drive against this anarchy. With the army recently fitted, Balban

therefore, made the extirpation of the rebels his first care. He started his work in the immediate vicinity of

Security
measures

the capital. For a whole year he engaged himself in hunting down the highway robbers and clearing the forests. Having thus destroyed their hiding places, he erected a fortress at Gopalgir guarding the city's south-western approach against the Mewatis. It was garrisoned with seasoned Afghan troops. Similar posts with Afghan garrisons were established in other corners of the Delhi province¹. The capital was thereby cordoned off and freed from the Mewati robbers, and for the first time in several years the citizens breathed freely. Next year Balban turned to the Doab and Awadh where life was equally insecure. In order to deal effectively with the rebels he divided the area into a number of military commands. These were made into assignments and placed under energetic officers who were to clear the forests and conduct a relentless drive against the insurgents. The measure produced good result, and in a short time order was restored. Brigands were seized and peasants returned to normal obedience and to agriculture. Balban himself remained for a year in the neighbourhood of Kampil and Patiali to

¹ *TM*, p. 40; see also *Ferishta*, I, p. 77.

clear the highways and build new roads through the forest-clearings. To ensure their safety he erected military posts at Bhojpur, Patiali and Kampil, formerly strongholds of the rebels, and placed Afghan troops there. The ancient fortress at Jalali, situated on the route to 'Hindusthan', was also repaired and strongly garrisoned². From the inscription on the mosque, presumably built on this occasion, this re-settlement of the place, seems to have taken place in 665-6/1266³.

While Balban was still engaged in these parts news arrived of fresh aggression by the Katehriyas on Budaun and Amroha. He immediately returned to Delhi, assembled a larger force, and marching out, ostensibly on a hunting expedition, suddenly appeared before Katehar. A

Punishment of
the Katehriyas.

body of five thousand archers was detailed to plunder and set fire to the habitat of the insurgents and to slay the whole adult male population. The punishment was inhumanly severe and calculated to strike terror; Barani records how at every village and jungle heaps of human corpses lay rotting, the stench poisoning the air as far as the Ganges. The district was almost depopulated, but the measure served its purpose. Adjacent districts were thoroughly cowed and no further action was found necessary. The country was cleared of forest, roads were built and civil government was introduced. The Katehriyas never raised their heads again, for Barani records that from that day the *iqtas* of Budaun, Amroha, Sambhal and Kanuri (?) were rendered safe and permanently freed from trouble⁴. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-*

¹ Ferishta explains the term Hindusthan as referring to the provinces of 'Jaunpur, Bihar and Bengal'.

² Jalali is 11 miles east of Aligarh and is reported to occupy the site of an old Hindu town named Nilauti; Carlyle: *ASR*, XII, p. 12. See also *IGI*, XIV, p. 14-15.

³ *ASR*, 1914-15, pp. 151-52.

⁴ Barani, p. 59.

shahi adds that Balban on this occasion extended his operations to the 'Kohpayah' of Santur¹, probably necessitated by the insurgents obtaining assistance from the hill-chief, who, in any case, had shown particular unfriendliness by harbouring rebels in the past.

Internal security having thus been restored, the stage seemed set for the resumption of expansionist wars at the expense of Hindu states. Iltutmish's attempts pointed to this policy. The cessation of offensive action, following his death, had encouraged Hindu aggression; a counter-offensive seemed clearly called for. Balban's experience and realism, however, dictated a different policy. Internal disorders in the recent past demonstrated what was concealed to the pioneer Iltutmish, namely, the incomplete nature of the state organization. A dynastic, absolutist kingship was yet to take firm root in Delhi; the autonomy of the provincial governors tended to nullify central authority; and the administrative machinery still showed signs of improvisation. Annexation of newer territories was in the circumstances bound to create problems and involve strains which would be far beyond the organisational capacity of the Sultanate to endure. Even in the administered area itself, the process of conquest and pacification had by no means ended. Armed Hindu resistance still continued to be a major problem and promised to consume the state's available resources. The Mongol threat, above all, was a powerful deterrent to any action likely to weaken the frontier defences. As will be shown in a later chapter, their military and political pressure pushed the Delhi frontier back to the Beas. Lahore formed the Mongol sphere of influence while Multan and Sind were subject

Internal problems;
a change of policy.

¹ p. 40.

to recurring attacks. Balban strove hard to appease them, exchanged friendly envoys and only as a last resort had recourse to armed defence. Like Iltutmish in the early years of his reign, Balban also found his hands tied by defence problems. A new problem was the serious shortage of Turkish man-power in India, caused by the Mongols severing Delhi's contact with Turkestan. Employment of the military personnel simultaneously on two fronts was now possible only by associating men of other races in running the state. To do that would mean undermining the state's racial basis to which, as will be explained later, Balban was, however, deeply committed.

To expend his limited man-power and military resources in additional conquests of dubious value, was therefore, a course of action whose unwisdom he realised quite early and explained to his courtiers who urged him on to win new territories. Sending punitive expeditions as a defence measure or to obtain treasure, he said, was one thing; to invade and seek to permanently occupy a warlike Hindu state, requiring the employment of a large number of loyal officers and troops, was an entirely different thing¹. "For me to seize and occupy other countries would only bring harm to the kingdom". "If the protection of the Mussalmans (from the Mongols) were not my first care, I would not stay a single day in the capital but would lead my well-prepared forces to capture the treasure, horses and elephants of the distant *Ranas* and to the destruction of the enemies of Islam". He remembered the wise

Defence and
consolidation.

¹ See Minhaj, p. 291, for an instance of such treasure-obtaining expeditions; in 1247 Ulugh Khan represented to Mahmud that since no Mongol invasion had occurred that year, the respite should be spent in ravaging the territory of the Rais and Ranas of Hindusthan and thereby acquiring booty and the "means to fight the infidels."

counsels of the ancient kings: "strengthen and consolidate your own kingdom for it is wiser than to seize others that are difficult to hold and would only weaken your own"¹. Balban was certainly not a contended pacifist, but defence and conservation of resources received his first attention. Internal consolidation therefore became the keynote of his policy and territorial expansion was formally postponed.

His reign thus stands in clear contrast to those of his predecessors. It is marked not by expansionist expeditions or even rebellions but by comparative peace and security. The chronicler is less engaged in recording military events than in observations stressing the order and tranquility of the country. By a timely sheathing of the conqueror's sword Balban certainly created the condition-precedent for the Khalji conquests.

His autocracy was absolute; he staked everything in uprooting the slightest defiance of his authority. Towards the end of his reign occurred an incident which clearly emphasised the ruthlessness with which the king's absolutism was intended to operate. This was a rebellion of the governor of Lakhnauti. In the year of his accession Tatar Khan who succeeded his father, the rebel Arslan, in Lakhnauti, prudently submitted to Balban and as a token of allegiance, sent a number of elephants to Delhi². Thereupon he was presumably confirmed in the post. How long he ruled there is not recorded; later accounts state that he was removed from his post by Balban's orders³. The next governor,

Rebellion in
Lakhnauti.

¹ His discourse and arguments are fully reproduced in Barani, pp. 50-53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³ Salim: *Biyaus-Salatin*, p. 75. There is confusion with regard to the successor of Tatar Khan. Haji Dabir, II, p. 733, places Tughril's appointment in 664 but contradicts himself on III, p. 965, by dating the event again in 657/1258-9. *TM*, p. 40, states that Amin Khan was appointed

named Tughril, is reported to have been originally one of Balban's slaves. He was a bold and ambitious man and led successful expeditions into the neighbouring Hindu states¹ and obtained reputedly enormous wealth.

to succeed Sher Khan (possibly a misprint for Tamur Khan) whose *naib*, Tughril, however, usurped all power and dispossessed him. Stewart: *History of Bengal*, p. 69, states, on what authority is not mentioned, that Tatar Khan was confirmed by Balban and ruled in Bengal until his death in 1277. Barani, however, places Tughril's rebellion "15 or 16 years after Balban's accession."

¹ Barani, p. 82. Among the states raided by him, Barani mentions one Jainagar or Jajinagar (the printed text has Hajinagar); The I. O. Ms. 177, ff. 53b-57b, consistently spells it Jajinagar. The *TM*, p. 41 has Narkilah (?) while Ferishta has Jajinagar; I, p. 79-80. Elliot, III, p. 112 and 120, rightly held that it could not be Orissa; Stewart: *op. cit.* p. 70, calls it Jajinagar-Tipperah. Raverty's identification with Orissa, supported by Banerji: *Banglar Itihasa*, II, p. 70-71, is obviously untenable. For, Balban's arrival at Sunargaon, in his pursuit of Tughril, known to be flying towards Jajinagar, and the conclusion of an agreement with the local raja for preventing the rebel's flight along the rivers, would point to a country in the south east of Bengal. Stewart's identification with Tipperah also does not seem satisfactory. The Tipperah chronicles, it is true, refers to a Turushka king of Gour who helped with troops one of the rival claimants to the Tipperah throne sometime towards the end of the 13th century and who conferred the title of *Manikya* on the ruler named Ratnapha, a title borne by the Tipperah house ever since; *Rajmala*, ed. K. C. Sinha, pp. 29-31; also Long's analysis and abridged translation, in *JASB*, 1850, p. 533 *sq.* One can understand the flight of Tughril, if he is really identified with this Turushka king, to the country where he could expect to be received by the grateful *raja*; this treatment he could hardly expect from the king of Orissa whose territory he allegedly raided in the recent past. But the *Rajmala* is a later compilation and the Turushka king's identification is not beyond doubt. Besides, the existence of Tipperah as an important state in those days is not borne out by epigraphy or archaeology. Such evidences, on the contrary, have recently been unearthed to reveal the existence, in the Tipperah, Noakhali and the Meghna region, of a flourishing kingdom with its capital at Pattikera, now located near what is called the Mainamati hills near Comilla. Its ancient dynasty is proved by archaeological evidences to have been replaced about the middle of the 13th century, by a line of kings whose names end in *Deva*. Two kings of this line have so far been known, who not only extended the Pattikera kingdom but also seem to have supplanted the later Senas in Vikrampur and Dacca, for the second king, Danujamardana Deva, according to modern epigraphists, is identical with Danuja Rai of Barani (Raja Nauja of Abul Fazal); for this kingdom of Pattikera and the Deva dynasty, see *DHB*, I, pp. 254-259. Whether Tughril's flight was directed towards this Patikkera is a point worth considering. In that case Danuja Rai's readiness to help in siezing the rebel should be regarded as prompted more by his hostility to him for the recent aggression than a desire to please Balban. Hajinagar is probably the correct version, for it can be equated to Jahajinagar, a popular name of the Tipperah-Noakhali tract on the Meghna-Padma confluence. Ferishta, I, p. 79, and Haji Dabir, III, p. 966, place Tughril's raid on 'Jajinagar', in 671/1272; Stewart: *op. cit.* p. 70, has 1279.

True to the name of *Balghakpur* which Lakhnauti had earned in the past¹, Tughril, feeling confident of his power, eventually asserted independence and withheld the king's share (*Khums*) of the spoils. He finally assumed sovereignty and like Yuzbak took the regal name of Sultan Mughisuddin². By liberal distribution of offices and emoluments he won over the people to his side, and counted on the pre-occupation and old age of Balban for uninterfered enjoyment of power.

Tughril apparently possessed a very poor knowledge of his old master's character. On receipt of the news Balban flew into a rage and immediately directed Amin

Defeat of the
Delhi forces.

Khan, the governor of Awadh to proceed with his army and bring him to submission³. Tughril brought up his forces and opposed Amin Khan's progress. In the battle that followed near the Gogra in north Bihar, the royal forces were however completely defeated; some of the Delhi troops deserted to Tughril, while the rest, retreating, suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Hindu tribes of Awadh. News of this defeat, damaging as it was to the prestige of the reputedly invincible king, upset Balban's equanimity and in rage he ordered the defeated officer to be hanged at the Awadh gate⁴.

A similar fate overtook the army which Balban despatched next year under Tirmidi. Tughril seems to have enormously increased in strength for, according to Yahya Sirhindi, he defeated a third army led by Shahabuddin, Amin Khan's successor in Awadh⁵.

¹ Barani, p. 82.

² Cf. *TM*, p. 41, from which Ferishta seems to copy the statement that Balban fell sick at this time and the rumour of his death spread to Lakhnauti. Tughril thereupon declared his independence. See Barani, p. 82-83.

³ Ferishta I, p. 79, states that Amin Khan was on this occasion appointed governor of Lakhnauti. See also Blochmann: *JASB*, 1874, p. 287, who reproduces Budauni's account; *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, I, p. 127.

⁴ Barani, p. 84. *TM*, p. 41, states that the general was taken prisoner and was confined by Tughril at Narkilah.

⁵ *TM*, p. 41-42.

These successive defeats and the continued defiance of his authority made Balban almost mad with rage. He was now in his eightieth year and the

Balban moves
against Tughril.

Mongol pressure had by no means subsided. But he decided to lead the fourth expedition personally and thus stake his all to vindicate the Crown's authority. And he swore never to return without the rebel's head. Taking with him his second son, Bughra Khan, and having appointed his friend, the *kotwal* Fakruddin, to act as the regent during his absence, he set out, determined and well-prepared for a long campaign. He requisitioned troops from the adjoining provinces and at Awadh enlisted, in addition, about two hundred thousand men. The rainy season was approaching, but his iron will would suffer no obstacles.

The old king's courage and ruthless will at last unnerved the rebel. Afraid to offer any frontal resistance he collected his treasure and followers and leaving Bengal campaign, Lakhnauti, made in all haste for what Barani writes as Jajnagar but which undoubtedly lay towards the south-east'. He depended on the climate and the waterlogged soil of the province to wear out the Delhi forces and the king's patience when he hoped to emerge from his retreat and reoccupy the capital. Balban pushed on with utmost speed and occupied the evacuated city. Leaving it in charge of Malik Husamuddin with instructions to keep him informed about affairs in Delhi, he immediately set out in Tughril's pursuit. It led him to East Bengal and on arrival at Sunargaon he is reported to have met the local raja who

¹ Barani, p. 85-86; *TM*, p. 42 states that he fled to Narkilah. See Haji Dabir, III, p. 967, who calls it Jajnagar.

agreed to co-operate in seizing the rebel¹. Barani calls the Hindu raja by the name of Nauja, who is obviously identifiable with the king of the Deva dynasty, named Danujamadhava Ariraja Dasaratha, one of whose fragmentary grants has been discovered at Vikrampur, Dacca district². Danuja must have been independent, for Balban, according to Yahya Sirhindi, in asking for his co-operation, was obliged to show him respect due to a sovereign prince³. On obtaining from him an assurance to prevent Tughril's flight by the rivers flowing through his kingdom, Balban resumed the pursuit and arrived within 140 miles of the 'Hajinagar' frontier⁴. No trace of the rebel being still found he detached and sent ahead a part of his force under Bektars and himself followed in the rear. A party of scouts from Bektars's detachment unexpectedly succeeded in locating the rebel's camp on the Hajinagar frontier. Bektars suddenly fell upon Tughril's unsuspecting troops resting beside a stream. They all fled in confusion at the sudden attack and the rebel himself was slain while attempting to flee. The triumphant officer returned to Balban with Tughril's head and received liberal

¹ See Rennell; *Memours of a map of Hindusthan*, p. 57, for the location of Sunargaon.

² It has not yet been edited fully; a tentative reading was published in the *Bharatvarsha*, B.S. 1332, part II, pp. 78-81, from which an account was given in Mazumdar, N. G; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 181.

³ The *TM*, pp. 42-43, gives a confused itinerary of Balban's march: On his marching out from Delhi Tughril fled by the river Saru or Sarf and went to Narkilah; Balban despatched Bektars to pursue him; at that stage the representation of Rai Danuj was received who expressed a desire to see the Sultan provided the latter honoured him by standing up when he arrived; Balban was chary to honour an infidel, but Bektars suggested that he should keep a falcon on his hand and when the Rai arrived, should stand up to let it loose after some bird, so that the significance of the gesture should not be clear to the spectators. The Rai then came and agreed to seize the rebel by every means at his disposal. Then Balban arrived at Lakhnauti and an advance body of scouts unexpectedly came upon Tughril's camp in a jungle.

⁴ In the *Fathnamah*, composed by Amir Khusrau, who had accompanied the expedition with Bughra Khan to Lakhnauti, Bektars's conquests in Lakhnauti are recounted but no mention is made of Tughril's

rewards. On the king's return to Lakhnauti, after rewards and promotions were distributed, an exemplary punishment was meted out to the captured adherents of Tughril; every one, suspected of having the slightest connection with him was hanged on gibbets erected along the two sides of the Lakhnauti bazaar. The deserters from the royal army were also rounded up and kept in chains for a similar punishment at Delhi.

Having at last re-established his authority, Balban appointed Bughra Khan to the province and, pointing to the corpses hanging from the gibbets and visible from the palace balcony, he warned him of the consequences of rebellion against Delhi. After giving him a final advice as to his duties he set out on his return journey and made a triumphal entry into the capital after three years' absence. On the supplication of the army *qazi*, who was prevailed upon by their relatives to inter-

rebellion. He is described as having been sent for the subjugation of 'Jajnagar' and Awadh. On arrival at the former place he defeated a strong force of the Rai, commanded by Maldeo Rana. He then pushed on to 'Jahanbar' (? Add. 16842, f. 513b, has Maha-Benares), the residence of the Rai and even captured the strong fort of 'Asirgaon' (The two B.M. Mss. have Gaonsunar; Sunargaon is possibly meant) by defeating the Rawats. The Rai, Beerajit Mal, thereupon sued for peace and offered to acknowledge Muslim suzerainty and pay tribute. The offer being accepted, the Rai presented himself to the Sultan and was enrolled as a vassal. Thereafter, the Muslim army, accompanied by the Sultan returned to Delhi, on the 5th *Shawwal*, 680/1281; *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi*, (Lucknow edition) V, pp. 5-14. Place names in this account are difficult to identify; it could hardly refer to the conquest of Orissa. 'Asirgaon' is probably Sunargaon, which soon after appears under Muslim rule. The duration of Danujamadhava's reign is not known, but Battashali is inclined to place its termination sometime about 1280; Is it probable that Danuja Rai was reduced by Bektars before Tughril could be pursued any further and that the agreement recorded followed this event? Beerajit Mal, in that event, should be supposed to be the name of Danuj Rai's general. Barani, in any case seems to allude to the annexation of Sunargaon when he records Balban's warning to Bughra (p. 93) that 'whoever among the *muqtis* of Hink, Sind, Malwah, Gujrat, Lakhnauti and Sunargaon revolts against Delhi, he would meet with a fate similar to that of Tughril'. The undoubted occupation of Sunargaon is proved by the issue of a coin, a few years later, by Bughra's son and successor, Kaikaus from the *Kharaj of Bang* dated 690/1291; *JASB*, 1922, p. 410.

¹ Barani, p. 91-92.

cede, the captives were pardoned and released. Governors and feudatory chiefs all flocked to pay homage to the victorious Sultan whose unconquerable will to assert his absolute authority was brought home to them in such a forceful manner. His eldest son, Muhammad, the viceroy of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur, also paid him a visit and brought the spoils obtained in expeditions in lower Sind'. He had already been nominated for the succession and was now sent back with further honour and rewards.

Barani remarks that after the suppression of Tughril the Sultan's authority rested securely in the people's heart and peace and order was manifest in every corner of the kingdom² Balban was thus at the height of his power and prestige and the country, for the first time in many years, witnessed a strong government which guaranteed the security of the people's life and property. Against external foes his anxious preparations had borne equally good results. Early in the reign he had led a punitive expedition against the ever-turbulent tribesmen of the Salt Range who not only periodically ravaged the settled districts but were in alliance with the Mongol invaders and acted as guides. Lahore, abandoned for all practical purposes since Mahmud's reign, was recovered and rebuilt³. The district was incorporated within the frontier province of Multan and Dipalpur which, after Sher Khan's death, was placed in charge of prince Muhammad. A standing force of about seventeen to eighteen thousand horses, was set apart for dealing with the Mongols who

¹ Amir Khusrau : *Gurraṭul-Kamal*, *dibacha* quoted by Budaoni; *op. cit.* trans. I, p. 216; Barani, p. 69.

² p. 109.

³ Barani, pp. 59-61.

were, as a result, effectively held on the line of the Beas¹. The rest of the state forces, maintained in a high state of efficiency by constant exercise², was also kept ready for the invaders.

Balban lived long enough to reap the fruit of his labours. His achievements, in ensuring peace and order, made such a profound impression on the people that the

Death of his
heir-apparent.

prosperous reign of Iltutmish was almost forgotten; the Sultanate, in the peoples' mind, was nearly merged in Balban and his house. It seemed that his dynasty had come to stay. He himself entertained no doubts and never tired of advising his heir-apparent, Muhammad, as to his kingly duties. Barani, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan all bestow lavish praise on the prince's mental and moral accomplishments³. He would undoubtedly have proved a capable ruler, but fate had decided otherwise, and like Iltutmish's eldest son, prince Muhammad was not destined to wear the crown. In a fierce battle with the Mongols, in one of their periodical invasions in the Lahore-Dipalpur province, he was slain in February, 1286⁴. The death of his accomplished and favourite son, more than the disaster to his forces, came as a terrible blow to the aged monarch and he never recovered from the shock. His policy, no less than his dynasty, seemed doomed to frustration, for his next son, Bughra, was ease-loving, mediocre and shirked responsibilities. Barani gives a touching description of the iron king's grief; he bore it lightly in public but wept bitterly at night.

¹ Barani, p. 81. For a detailed discussion of the frontier situation see chapter IX.

² See Barani, pp. 54-55, how by his frequent hunting expeditions he kept his army in trim.

³ Barani, pp. 67-69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109; *T.M.*, pp. 44-45, quotes in full Amir Hasan's account of

The consuming grief and anxiety for the future of the state, to the building of which had gone more than fifty years of his life, soon proved too much for his failing health, and sickness at last confined him to bed. He perceived his approaching end and summoned Bughra to stay near his death-bed. Barani describes how the terribly autocratic king entreated his son not leave him in his last moment. 'He had no other son, and if his grandsons, Kaikhusrau or Kaiqubad, still in their teens, were to succeed, the kingdom would go to ruins'. It was more than a hint; it was a clear request to accept the crown. But the unfeeling, slow-witted son preferred the luxury and the easy life of the distant Lakhnauti. But he dared not disappoint his father openly, and stayed on for three months, at the end of which, when Balban slightly recovered, he quietly left for his eastern appanage. While still on his way he heard of his father's relapse; but to retrace his steps and be prepared to accept the Delhi crown required courage which he woefully lacked. His cowardice and irresponsibility thus left the old king no other choice but to nominate the 'martyr' prince's son, the young Kaikhusrau, for succession. The prince was inexperienced and admittedly made a poor choice, but, unless he preferred to set aside his own dynasty and consequently the policy it symbolised, Balban found no better alternative¹. Kaikhusrau

the prince's fight and resulting death; Budauni: *op. cit.* p. 138 (text), quotes Amir Khusrâu's ode. See *TA*, I, p. 88 for an unconfirmed story of how the prince's sad end was supposed to be the result of the displeasure of the contemporary saint Sadruddin of Multan. In a fit of drunkenness the prince is reported to have divorced his wife, a daughter of the house of İltutmish; on his subsequently desiring to take her back, she had to be married to another and then divorced. The saint was persuaded to agree to taking her in marriage but later the lady refused to return to the prince and consequently the saint refused to divorce her. The prince thereupon flew into a rage and swore to kill Sadruddin, the first thing next morning; but the Mongol invasion occurred to take him away to his fateful expedition before he had time to execute his plan.

¹ Barani, p. 121-22.

was however brought up under his strict supervision and could, perhaps, be counted upon to imbibe some of his own qualities in preserving the throne, delicately balanced as it was, between so many contending forces. Balban's ultimate reliance was in any event, on his trusted counsellors, his friend the *kotwal* and the *wazir* whom he requested to give all protection and advice that the prince may need. He died within a few days of Kaikhusrau's nomination, about the middle of 1287 A.D.¹

"The *maliks* in grief at Balban's death," remarks Barani, "tore their garments and threw dust on their heads as they followed, barefeet, the king's bier to the burial ground at Darul Aman. For forty days they mourned his death and slept on the bare floor"²: That the austere

Evaluation
of his work.

and terrible monarch was popular, is hard to believe; respect for his abilities and a fear for his power would be more natural. Enough has perhaps been said to evaluate his contributions to the making of the Delhi Sultanate. In continuing Aibak and Iltutmish's work he applied an energy and calculation that brought forth warm tributes even from his adversaries. To him, unquestionably, is to be attributed the preservation of the state's integrity at a time when unrestricted expansion threatened to overstrain its resources. By consolidating the conquered areas, and destroying the forces of anarchy, he fulfilled a historical need, namely, preparing the Sultanate for further territorial expansion as the next stage of its development. Balban's greatest single achievement lay in the revival of the monarchy as the supreme factor in the state. By the centralisation which it involved—although detailed instances are

¹ *TM*, p. 52. Barani gives no date but on p. 127, places Kaiqubad's accession in 685, which is wrong.

² Barani, p. 122-23.

lacking—Balban's work thus definitely shortened the period of administrative improvisations that marked the 13th century Sultanate. In a large measure he prepared the ground for the Khalji state-system.

In one aspect of his policy however, he showed a lamentable lack of statesmanlike vision. This was his extreme racialism which led him to make the Sultanate

an exclusively Turkish concern. He affected a great repugnance to associating with what he called men of "low origin" and could not bear the sight of the native Mussalmans in his government. On one occasion he administered a sharp rebuke to his courtiers for having selected a native Mussalman for a clerical post in Amroha¹. His autocracy was intended to emphasise the unchallenged domination of the Turks, although they themselves were conceded very little share in the exercise of sovereign power. It would therefore be wrong to designate Balban's state as an obligarchy, but there seems little doubt that he considered himself more the custodian of Turkish sovereignty than a king of the Mussalmans. In so doing, he admittedly was following his master Iltutmish who is also reported to have felt an equal abhorrence for the Indian Muslim. But what was defensible in Iltutmish's time was fraught with ruinous consequences in that of Balban. The initial conquest, as has been noted earlier, had the character of a racial movement; its easy success was largely conditioned by the uninterrupted flow of immigrant Turks from beyond the Hindukush. A loose political organisation, held together largely by a common race-sentiment could, and was forced by circumstances to, insist on the preservation of this dominant

¹ Barani, p. 86. For other instances and for Iltutmish's and Balban's views, see pp. 37-39.

characteristic; while the overrunning was in progress this sentiment, coupled with the equally potent tie of religion worked wonderfully well. This insistence on racialism proved a great help in focussing opposition to the racial aggression of the Mongols. Most of these factors however, had ceased to be operative by the time Balban commenced his reign. No fresh immigration could reach India from Turkestan on a large scale; conversion and inter-marriage steadily increased the non-Turkish Mussalmans. Balban himself put an end to continuous territorial expansion and devoted himself to defending the Muslim state from the Hindus and the Mongols; common interests of safety, which thereby were emphasised, were bound to transcend racial and even religious barriers. Imperceptibly, but with irresistible progress, an integrated Indo-Muslim society was coming into being and the transformation of the Sultanate, from a Turkish to an Indo-Muslim state, was well on its way. To resist this process was therefore not only useless but highly unwise. For the steadily-diminishing number of the pure-born Turks it was impossible to maintain predominance. Balban's uncompromising will only gave it an unreal lease of life; his death, consequently, meant the passing of the Turk as the controller of India's destiny.

This impending change was apparent to all his contemporaries. "Every upstart" said the *kotwal*, while delivering the funeral oration as Balban's coffin was being lowered into the grave, "will now aspire to the throne and ancient families and the old aristocracy will be for ever ruined". This change, surely as it was coming, was hastened by the new reign surveyed in the next chapter.

¹ Barani, p. 123; see also Barani's observations on the termination of Balban's reign.

CHAPTER VIII

END OF THE MEMELUKE DYNASTY

KAIQUBAD AND KAIUMARS: 1287-1290

It is useless to speculate on the possible result of Kaikhusrau's accession, for, immediately after Balban's death, he was sent off to Multan to which he had been appointed to succeed his father¹. Fakhruddin and his people are reported to have had some private quarrel with the prince Muhammad and so were unwilling, despite Balban's last request, to allow his son to ascend the throne, "lest harm came to them"². Malik Beksariq, the *wazir* Hasan Basri, and the *dabir*, who opposed this arbitrary measure, were imprisoned by the *kotwal's* party and eventually exiled³. Bughra Khan's son, Kaiqubad, was then given the title of Muizzuddin and was raised to the throne⁴.

Barani seems to forget his old age when he describes the gay and care free life that marked the young king's reign. The prince, then in his 18th year, had been brought up under the strict care and vigilance of his grandfather. He was gifted with charming manners and accomplishments and possessed of refined taste for poetry and music.

¹ Barani, p. 110.

² Barani p. 122. He says to describe the quarrel in detail would involve the disclosure of domestic secrets.

³ *TM*, p. 22.

⁴ Barani, p. 127, and Haji Dabir, II, p. 738, wrongly date the event in 685/1286, but Amir Khusrau: *Qiranus-Sadain*, p. 27, places Kaiqubad's accession in 686, which date is copied in the *TM*, p. 52; see *Elliot*, III, p. 525; for Kaiqubad's earliest coin dated 686, see Wright, p. 63; Balban's coins, however, cease with 685/1286.

During adolescence, the puritannical Balban allowed him no opportunity for tasting the pleasures of life; "he could not glance at a fair face or drain a goblet of wine". Now suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, in the most critical period of a man's life, he found himself absolute master not only of his own actions but of a rich and prosperous kingdom. The usual result followed; his pent-up desires and preferences found expression in unbridled indulgence in wine, women and gaiety. The court became full of buffoons, musicians and dancers. Citizens and courtiers, whose yearning for sensual pleasures remained unsatisfied under the austere Balban, also followed suit and Delhi became a flourishing mart for wine, musicians and dancing girls who flocked from all parts of the kingdom. Pursuit of pleasure became the rule of life and even men of letters and learning were obliged to earn appreciation by paying their quota of poetry, wit, and humour to merry parties. Kaiqubad gave up residing in the old city and built himself a new palace at Kilkhri, a few miles down the Jumna². The courtiers also shifted there, and soon the place teemed with new buildings and with people of all descriptions. Barani remarks, perhaps with no little exaggeration, that during the three years of Kaiqubad's rule the people had no other work but to seek merriment and invent newer forms of pleasure. As the personal popularity of the young Sultan increased, the governmental measures of the late king became less in evidence. The administration was left to shift for itself and to the successful intriguer.

¹ Barani, p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130. The place was already growing as a suburb and as early as the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud, it was known as the *Shahr-i-Nau*; Raverty: *Trans. Tab. Nas.* p. 634. For a description of Kaiqubad's palace see Amir Khusrau: *op. cit.*, p. 24-44.

The description of Kaiqubad's merry parties occupy most of Barani's account of the reign; behind the gaiety, however, was the inevitable intriguer. On his accession, following the customary procedure, *New appointments.* Kaiqubad confirmed the old officers. Among the promotions was that of the deputy *wazir*, Khwaja Khatir who received the vacant office of Hasan Basri. Among new appointments were those of Malik Tuzaki the private chamberlain, Malik Jawarji the *Sar-i-Jandar*, and of Malik Qiwanuddin, the chief secretary, the latter receiving the additional post of the deputy chief of the royal household (*naib-i-wakil-i-dar*). An appointment which proved to have the greatest consequence for Kaiqubad, was that of Malik Nizamuddin, the son-in-law of the *kotwal* Fakhruddin, who became the chief magistrate of the capital (*dad-bak*)¹.

An ambitious man with an innate aptitude for intrigue, Nizamuddin soon warmed himself in the Sultan's confidence. Although he held only a judicial post, Barani states, he soon made himself into a *de facto naib-i-mamlakat*, and assumed control over all state departments. He possessed the virtues of a shrewd and able administrator and Barani gives him the entire credit for maintenance of law and order during the gay king's rule². He sent his wife to reside in the place and to assume control of the Sultan's *harem*. By virtue of his relation with the *kotwal*, the most influential man in the city, Nizamuddin wielded undisputed authority and most of the courtiers found it prudent to profess attachment to him.

Barani regrets that such an able administrator should have yielded to the temptation of wearing the crown.

¹ *TM*, p. 53; Barani, p. 181.

² Barani, p. 168.

To every thinking man, however, a dynastic change
 —his designs. was only a matter of time and

Nizamuddin's ambition was no crime. Balban's children had proved themselves utterly unworthy of his crown; the state needed strong, courageous men, not the timid Bughra Khan or the pleasure-loving Kaiqubad. Mongol attacks had been recurring with increased frequency. The need for a militarist king was more urgent than before and sentimental consideration for dynastic legitimacy could claim no precedence. Nizamuddin probably was no soldier, but the arguments of his father-in-law who tried to dissuade him from his designs, on the ground that "he did not belong to the race of kings" were certainly no justification for the continuance on the throne of an effete dynasty¹.

Nizamuddin persued his game with undiminished vigour, and proceeded to weed out his rivals systematically. Kaikhusrau was likely to prove an obstacle; so he was summoned from Multan and was murdered on the way at Rhotak under Kaiqubad's order, issued in a fit of drunkenness². This foul deed left no doubt as to Nizamuddin's traitorous design; his unscrupulous nature inspired terror in the heart of every man of note. The *wazir*, Khwaja Khatir, already bereft of his authority as the chief executive officer of the state, was next disgraced. A colony of Mongol converts who had settled in Delhi in Balban's reign, and who were related to many of the influential men of Balban's party, were likewise imprisoned and slain on a trumped-up charge of sedition. Among them were officers of note, including the *sar-i-jandar* and the *amir-i-hajib*; their vacant offices Nizamuddin now filled with more dependable

¹ Barani, pp. 135-138.

² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

men¹. The Sultan, now completely under the control of Nizamuddin's wife, refused to listen to any complaint against him. The dynastic change thus began to be openly talked about and Kaiqubad's deposition became only a question of time.

Fate, as Barani remarks, however was to provide a different instrument for the execution of this historical task, for Nizamuddin was not destined to reap the fruit of his labour. In Lakhnauti, Bughra

Bughra Khan.

Khan had assumed sovereignty after Balban's death², but, though aiming at separate political existence, he could not remain indifferent to the happenings at Delhi. Some writers even ascribe to him a readiness to press his claim to his father's throne, even if only to counteract Nizamuddin. Kaiqubad's headlong march to self-destruction seems to have at last awakened the family shirker to a sense of his dynastic interests. He had kept himself fully informed of his son's doings and carried on a constant correspondence with Delhi; his letters carried advice, admonition, and warning but his son, completely under the spell of his nemesis, showed no signs of improvement. At last Bughra decided to see him and asked for an interview. This was granted and a meeting was arranged on the banks of the Sarju river in Awadh³. It is difficult to be certain as to Bughra Khan's motives; whether it was solely a filial affection that prompted him to this course is a point on which early writers are not unanimous. Like all others he unmistakeably saw the

¹ Barani, p. 132. *TM*, p. 53 states, the Sultan, six months after his accession, wanted to seize some of the new Mussalman *amirs*, and accordingly in a Darbar held to announce a victory over the Mongols in Multan, Nizamuddin was ready with his retainers. As the *amir-i-hajib*, the *wakil-i-dar*, the *naib-i-barbak*, the *sar-i-jandar*, and the *akhurbak* came to offer congratulations they were all seized and with the exception of two who were exiled, all were executed.

² Barani, p. 139; *TM*, p. 54. No coin of Bughra has yet been discovered.

³ Barani p. 140.

impending doom of his father's dynasty and it is not unlikely that, remembering at last his father's wishes, he wanted to reclaim the throne: this, at least, is the interpretation put to his action by Amir Khusrau and a few later writers¹.

Whatever his real motive, Bughra certainly marched with his army and encamped on the eastern bank of the Sarju. Kaiqubad also started in full military array and after a lieisurely march arrived to pitch his camp on the opposite bank.

Meeting with
Kaiqubad.

This display of military power may only have been a precautionary measure but Nizamuddin, instinctively, foresaw the probable effect on the young king of a meeting with his long-separated father, and tried his best to bring about an armed conflict. It was only through the earnest endeavours of some of the loyal adherents of Balban's family that this was averted. Nizamuddin persuaded the king to impose rigid and humiliating ceremonials on Bughra; he was required to cross over and do obeisance to his son, the successor to Balban's throne and the Lord Paramount of India. Following a protracted exchange of arguments and threats, during which the peace-makers were hard put to avert a rupture, paternal affection got the better of Bughra's sense of dignity and he agreed to pay homage to the Sultan of Delhi². The meeting that followed is one of the tenderest episodes in medieval history and has furnished the theme of one of the celebrated poems of Amir

¹ *Qiranus Sadain*, p. 34-35: Ibn Battuta: *Rahla*, II, p. 29; *TM*, p. 54. See also *TA*, I, p. 107.

² See *JASB*, 1860, pp. 225-38, for abridged translation of the *Qiranus-Sadain* where a full account is given of the messages exchanged. Bughra sent his younger son Kaikaus to Kaiqubad as a hostage while the later sent his infant son, Kaiumars. For the whole episode see *TM*, pp. 54-55; Barani, pp. 142-156.

Khusrau. Kaiqubad affected a stony dignity and with kingly unconcern looked on as his father, bowing and kissing the ground, approached the throne and prostrated himself at his feet; but at the end he broke down and threw himself at Bughra's feet and in tears, which melted the heart of all the spectators, conducted him to the throne. They remained together for some days, during which Bughra advised his son to mend his ways, to live up to his family traditions and to save himself from the destruction which his conduct was bringing upon him. At the last meeting, in the style of Balban, he instructed him as to the art of administration and, while parting, whispered an advice to get rid of evil counsellors like Nizamuddin¹. After a final exchange of presents, the two parted, the father convinced that he had seen the last of his son, and Kaiqubad, impulsively determined to carry out his father's advice.

For some stages he never touched wine or looked at the numerous courtesans who accompanied the party; but at the end, on the advances of a particularly enticing beauty, his half-hearted resolution gave way. Before he reached Kilokhri he was again a drunken debauch and worse than ever².

Nizamuddin continued his game. Malik Shahak, Jawarji's successor as the *amir-i-hajib* and the governor of Multan who had lately earned fame and honour in victory over the Mongols, seemed to be increasing in power and so drew his unwelcome attention. The Malik had to flee to the hills in the north where a few of the other nobles, similarly apprehensive, joined him. Being sincerely loyal to the Sultan he returned in obedience to

Nizamuddin's
death.

¹ Barani, p. 156; *Qiranus-Sadain*, pp. 154 and 160.

² Barani, p. 164. Cf. Ibn Battuta: *Bahlah* II, p. 29, who erroneously states that Bughra accompanied Kaiqubad to Delhi on this occasion.

orders, but was immediately imprisoned, and, later, executed¹. A similar treatment was meted out to Tuzaki, the recently appointed army minister and the governor of Baran. But, as Barani remarks, his every move only cleared the path of the Khaljis². Before Nizamuddin could execute his final plan, Kaiqubad suddenly remembered his father's advice and ordered him to proceed to Multan to succeed Kaikhusrau. Aware of the Sultan's real intentions, he tried to find excuses and delayed departure; whereupon his enemies, divining the Sultan's mind, poisoned him³. His death undoubtedly freed Kaiqubad from imminent assassination, but it also removed the only capable administrator he possessed. The state as a result lost whatever order it had. The impulsive king never remembered or at least never acted up to the other part of his father's counsel. It was in any case too late, for the effects of unrestrained drinking and debauchery now laid him low with paralysis⁴.

Barani states that after Nizamuddin's death many of the old officers and supporters of Balban's family whom he had kept away, returned and joined the administration. But, he adds, order was never restored; since none of the aspiring officers who now pressed their claim to the highest executive post, was powerful enough to impose his will on the others, the government lost all cohesion and strength. In the palace, Malik Aitaman and Malik Surkha, the new incumbents in the posts of *amir-i-hajib* and *barbak*, held supreme power, and

Firoz Khalji;
the new *ariz*.

¹ *TM*, p. 55.

² Barani, p. 134, pp. 138-39.

³ Barani, p. 170. Isami p. 192-94, says that Nizamuddin once poisoned the Sultan's drink but the latter detected it and the culprit himself was made to die of this.

⁴ Barani, p. 171; *TM*, p. says he was afflicted with *fajij* and *laqwah*: Isami also supports this; p. 194, verse No. 3805.

since they had the Sultan in their charge, were in a position to use his name for their actions. In the vacancy caused by the execution of Tuzaki, Kaiqubad had appointed Malik Firoz Khalji, formerly the *sar-i-jandar* and the governor of Samana¹. Firoz held the title of Shaista Khan² and was a powerful man; not only was the army under his charge, but he was also the head of a very numerous and influential clan scattered all over the kingdom. Between him and the *de facto* rulers in the palace, no love was lost and the allegedly non-Turkish origin of Firoz added to the causes of dissension and to the consequent anarchy.

Owing to their long separation from their homeland the Khaljis who, at least from the 10th century, were known to have dwelt in the Helmand valley and then in Lamghan, were consequently not regarded as Turks by the new immigrants from Turkestan. Early chroniclers considered them a separate people and hence the Turcophile party of Balban and the citizens of Delhi affected to despise them as non-Turks³. The appointment of Firoz to the important post of army minister (*ariz*) and the resultant advancement of his people, therefore, created great dissatisfaction among those who sought to preserve the exclusively Turkish composition of the government. The jealousy of Surkha and Kacchan had also to be reckoned with. As in the case

The Khaljis;
a black-list.

¹ *TM*, p. 56, calls him by his Turkish name of Firoz Yaghrash Khalji; see Isami, p. 195-196, for an unconfirmed story of how, with his brother, Firoz (Isami calls him Shahabuddin) came to Delhi and was appointed governor of Babel (?) from where on the instigation of his enemies, Kaiqubad ordered him to be brought in chains to Delhi. On his way a *Sufi* congratulated him on his future greatness. On arrival at Delhi, the king at once pardoned, and what is more, gave him the office of *ariz* and the title of *Imadul Mulk*.

² *TM*, p. 56; Barani, p. 170, writes the title as *Siyasat Khan*.

³ For the origin of the Khaljis as to whose Turkish origin modern scholars are in general agreement, see Raverty: *Iran, Tab, Nas.*, p. 548: *JASB*, 1875; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article on Khalji; *BLIOS*, 1940 pp. 417-34.

of Rayhan nearly fifty years ago, a move was accordingly initiated under their leadership to eliminate all non-Turkish officers. A list of such men as were to be exterminated was drawn up in-secret. The attempt was a logical culmination of Balban's racialism; so prominently had he identified himself with this policy that the preservation of his dynasty was considered essential for its continued application¹.

In order to obtain royal sanction to the proposed list of the condemned men which Kaiqubad was physically not in a position to accord, the movers had recourse to an unprecedented step. Without formally deposing the reigning king or forcing him to abdicate, they brought out his three-year old son, Kaiumars, from the *harem* and crowned him as Shamsuddin in obvious supersession of his father². A regent for the infant king was appointed from among their own ranks and a re-arrangement of the state-offices on the basis of the new policy followed. The proposed measure was then duly sanctioned and Firoz's name headed the condemned list. For obvious reasons the army minister had not been consulted about the accession, though as a loyal officer, he acquiesced in the new regime. Though unaware of the real nature of the new arrangement, he was yet highly suspicious of the new officers who did little to conceal their feelings towards him. Surkha undertook to commence enforcing the plan by slaying Firoz. One of the latter's relations, named Ahmad Chap, who was in the service of Kacchan, however, secretly conveyed the news to him. Thus put on his guard, Firoz planned to leave the capital. Anxious to augment his party in view of the approaching conflict, he

Shamsuddin
Kaiumars.

¹ Haji Dabir II, p. 750; Barani, p. 181.

² Ferishta, I, p. 88; Barani, p. 171 skips over a lot of details.

moved his quarters to Ghiyaspur, a few miles from Delhi, and then sent for his relations from Baran on the plea of removing them from the zone of a threatened Mongol invasion. He was joined by a number of other non-Turkish officers similarly black-listed¹.

On the day following his removal to Ghiyaspur, Firoz was holding a review of the Kanouj forces when a message from Kaiumars's court reached him demanding his immediate presence. He could at once see through the game and delayed compliance, until Kacchan himself rode up with a more urgent message. Without openly disobeying the royal summons Firoz pointed to the review he was holding and begged to be allowed to finish it. Kacchan was thus constrained to wait, and in the belief that his real motive had not yet been suspected, relaxed in the tent-shade. As soon as Firoz found him off his guard he beckoned to his men who cut off his head and threw the body into the Jumna².

This action tore off the mask and the two parties now came out in open conflict. Firoz felt it an obvious advantage to be able to invoke the king's authority for his party, and so sent his sons with a body of troops to fetch Kaiumars from Delhi. They raided the palace and secured the king, and when a party of Turkish officers came in their persuit, slew most of them and captured, among others, the sons of the *kotwal*³. Kidnapping of

Khalji coup.

¹ Details in *TM*, p. 56; Barani, p. 171-72.^{*}

² *TM*, *idem*; the place where Firoz was holding his review is called Bhukal-pahari, while Barani calls it Baharpur; Haji Dabir, II, p. 761 and Isami, p. 197, support *TM*.

³ *TM*, p. 57-58, gives a slightly different account: after slaying Kacchan he rode towards Kilokhri palace and drew up his forces in order to occupy it. Malik Chajju and others thereupon brought out the dying Kaiqubad and seated him under a pavilion outside the palace and prepared some loyalist troops to oppose. He gave out that all they wanted to do was to send Kaiqubad to his father. A part of the loyalist troops having for some unexplained reason withdrawn themselves, Firoz was able to occupy the palace and bring out Kaiqubad's infant son from the

their king by the hated Khalijis, however, roused the Delhi citizens to action and they streamed out to force his release. They were dissuaded from the course and turned back by Fakhruddin who feared for the lives of his captive sons. With the king finally in his control, Firoz thus became the master of the situation; even some Turkish officers now tacitly recognised it by joining him¹.

Barani fails to record the subsequent events of the unfortunate boy-king's reign; some of his coins have however, come to light². According to Yahya Sirhindi,

he reigned for a little over three
Firoz's regency months³. Having finally dispersed

his opponents Firoz installed the king in his father's palace at Kilokhri and proceeded to settle the administration on his behalf. He offered the deputyship of the kingdom to Malik Chajju, one of Balban's nephews, and asked for the provinces of Multan, Bhatinda and Dipalpur for himself. Chajju, too proud to receive any office as a gift from the Khalji, refused the offer and preferred the governorship of Karra and Manikpur instead, whither he immediately repaired with the surviving members of Balban's family. A similar offer to the *kotwal* having also been refused⁴, Firoz was obliged to accept the regency himself. Kaiqubad in the meantime met with an ignominious end; as he lay motionless on his bed, unattended and in hunger and thirst, a Khalji trooper, sent by

harem who was then seated on the throne. His offer of the regency to Malik Chajju and his own ultimate acceptance of the office is said to have followed the death of Kaiqubad, who was left under the pavilion and died on the next day of hunger and thirst. Isami, however, makes it clear that Kaiumars's elevation to the throne took place in his father's life time but is said to have been done by Firoz himself, pp. 199-200.

¹ Barani, p. 182. See *T M*, pp. 50-51, for a slightly different account.

² Wright, p. 66, no. 279. Rodgers: *Lahore Museum Catalogue*, p. 84, no.

4. Brown: *Coins of India*, p. 71. They are all dated 689/1290.

³ *T M*, p. 61.

⁴ Barani, p. 173; *T M*, p. 59. Haji Dabir, II, p. 752.

Firoz, entered the apartment, rolled him in his bed-clothes and kicked him off into the Jumna¹.

The regency was only a transitional arrangement; the 13th century-Sultanate had, for all practical purposes, come to an end. The inevitable supplanting of Kaiumars

has not been sufficiently detailed by Barani²; the process, however, is not difficult to imagine, nor is it

End of the
Memuluke
Sultanate.

necessary to sentimentalise the affair. The young prince was no better representative of his dynasty whose political traditions were neither renewable nor in accord with the spirit of the times. Firoz only formalised the coming of a new age when he ascended the throne at Kilokhari in March 1290 and proclaimed himself as Sultan Jalaluddin Firoz'.

The revolution was complete, but it took time to normalise the people's lives. Delhi was a stronghold of the Turkish party and Firoz for some months preferred to stay away at Kilokhari. His opponents, however, soon realised the futility of clinging to a retrogressive ideal and gradually came to terms. His unassuming and peaceable nature soon removed the popular dislike for his rule, and the Delhi citizens confirmed the new regime by tendering their allegiance. On

¹ Barani, p. 173. For the version of *TM*, respecting this incident, see note above. The above account is confirmed by Isami, p. 200.

² *TM*, p. 60-61, states that after three months the Turkish nobles headed by Surkha again-plotted to get rid of the Khalji regent and free the king from his control. Firoz got scent of this move and sent an army to the Kilokhari palace to seize the king. Surkha's party opposed the troops but were defeated and Surkha himself was killed. Following this, Firoz rode into the palace, put the king in confinement and himself ascended the throne, in *Bab* I, 689. The boy king died in prison. The account is partly supported by Isami, pp. 201-203. Kaiumar's death is not recorded.

³ Barani gives the date as 688/1289; p. 175. Haji Dabir III p. 753, and *TA* I, p. 117, only copy this date; but *TM*, p. 61, and *Ferishta*, I, p. 88, date the event correctly in 689/1290 which is in accordance with the numismatic evidence. The earliest coin of Firoz, a gold piece, issued possibly on his accession, is dated 689; Wright, p. 83, No. 280.

the invitation of Fakhruddin, the most respected survivor of the vanquished party, Firoz eventually entered Delhi and was seated on the throne of his illustrious master¹.

Barani regrets that from that day sovereignty passed from the Turks for ever. This is only partly true. The crown was still worn by a member of that race but Turkish domination passed for ever. Haji Dabir is more correct in his evaluation of the event when he remarks that 'with Kaiumars ended the line of kings that was started by Muizzuddin Muhammad b. Sam².

¹ Barani, p. 173, 176-77.

² II, p. 752.

CHAPTER IX.

FOREIGN INVASIONS AND THE WESTERN FRONTIER.

The problem of North India's defence is considerably minimised by its natural boundaries. If we exclude the coast line in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, it is only in the northwest that she is really vulnerable¹. From times immemorial, foreigners have entered through this northwestern passage leading into areas which afford convenient bases for an eventual conquest of the fertile plains. Owing to the peculiar configuration of mountain ranges in this region, an effective defence of this entrance is possible only by a complete military control of the area extending from Kabul, via Ghazni, to Kandahar, the so-called "scientific frontier" of India², controlling, as it does, the approaches to the fertile valleys of the Punjab rivers. For, the more southern entrances, through the Bolan and Las Bela regions, lead to the Indian desert. "India's second line of defence"³. The control of the Kabul-Ghazni-Kandahar line, flanked by the Hindu-kush, is thus not only essential from the point of view

¹ The eastern Himalayas and the Assam hills are difficult for any invading army and the few trade routes from Tibet do not lead to the key positions necessary for the conquest of North India. The coming of the Tibeto-Mongoloid races into Brahmaputra valley was more a tribal migration than invasion at a given time. It is needless to refer to the exploded myth of Changiz Khan's invasion through the eastern route, as recorded by Ferishta, I, p. 70, and reproduced by Stewart, *History of Bengal* p. 62, and Thomas: *Chronicles*, p. 121, note. As Raverty has pointed out long ago, the story arose out of a misreading by Ferishta of what was meant for Jainagar, which a careless scribe could easily turn into Changiz: see Raverty: *op. cit.* p. 665, note 8. On the eastern routes into India see also IGI, I, p. 18 and Holdich: *Gates of India*, p. 517.

² CHI, VI, p. 457.

³ Holdich; *op. cit.*, p. 148.

of military strategy, but in an age, when the alien conquerors of India were dependent for reinforcement on Central Asia, for political considerations also. Another aspect of this frontier problem, still a source of great difficulty to the present rulers of India, is the control of the ever-turbulent hill-tribes, inhabiting the wide mountainous belt of land extending from Kashmir to the seacoast, through which all the principal passages run. In the northern half of the Sind-Sagar Doab, round the chain of hills known as the Salt Range (Koh-i-Jud), lived, in the early middle ages, a number of warlike and lawless tribes,—the Khokars, Awans and Janjuhas¹,—whose political instability and periodic depredations on the Jhelum and Chinab valleys added to the enormity of the problem.

To the Moghul emperors of India, the advance upto the Kabul-Ghazni-Khandahar line was a major policy of expansion; to the newly-arrived Turks of the 13th century, control of the line to secure communications with their homeland was a vital necessity. As long as the kingdom of Ghor was strong enough to hold its ground in Afghanistan, Delhi was safe and communications uninterrupted. But its inclusion in the Ghoride empire exposed it to the ever changing political forces of Central Asia. In an earlier chapter reference has been made to the great concern which Aibak felt on this score after Muizzuddin's death, and to his policy directed to separating Delhi from Central Asiatic complications. With the absorption of Ghazni in the empire of the Khwarizm Shah, whose eastern frontier touched the Indus², Delhi's security was

Frontier problem
of the Memelukes.

¹ *Shahpur Settlement Report*, 1886, pp. 27-28; *Jhelum District Settlement Report* 1874-78, pp. 29-36.

² Minhaj, Raverty's trans. p. 267. Peshawar was the eastern frontier

directly threatened. Shortly afterwards the Mongols changed the whole map of Asia. Mongol outposts were established in Ghazni, Peshawar and other places in Afghanistan, and the Indus nearly disappeared as a political boundary. Delhi's administrative frontier was, as a consequence, pushed back far into what is now modern Punjab. For the rest of the century the Memelukes were thrown on the defensive and their forward policy in this direction aimed only at extending control over the Chinab basin rather than reaching the scientific frontier. The Indus remained only the geographical boundary of 'Hind and Sind;' and the tract east of the river was turned into a kind of no-man's land.

It has been stated elsewhere that Lahore and Multan formed the westernmost provinces of Delhi during the early years of the conquest. The river Chinab roughly

marked the boundary line within which was situated the fortress of Sialkot, repaired and garrisoned by Muizzuddin. His expedition against the Khokars and other tribesmen of the Salt Range marked the earliest attempt to reduce the unregulated belt of land across the Jhelum, which was, soon after, overrun by the invasions of Yalduz, first in 605 and again in 612. Our available data are unfortunately much too scanty to enable us to trace the changes which these invasions must have caused in the administrative boundary. Yalduz is said to have claimed the Punjab as part of his appanage; during the period of his rule in Ghazni; he is even reported to have sent troops on several occasions to occupy Lahore'. Possession of the city was contested not only by Yalduz and Qubachah but also by Iltutmish. The latter's dispute which resulted in Yalduz's defeat

outpost of Khwarizm when Changiz defeated Mangbarni on the Indus in 618/1221; see Neesawi, p. 79.

¹ Minhaj, p. 143.

and death is said to have originated from the uncertainty of their respective boundaries¹. From its position on the Ravi, Lahore could certainly cut off the flanks of an invading army proceeding southwards to Multan; its possession was also necessary for an eventual advance into the Sind Sagar Doab. It is difficult, however, to be precise as to the steps that Iltutmish must have taken in this direction after he organised the Lahore province in 1217; indications are available to show that he contemplated an advance up to the Indus. It was probably soon after the acquisition of Lahore that Malik Aetigin was put in charge of Kujah and Nandanah in the Salt Range which Minhaj refers to as the 'frontier'². The fact that these places, along with Sialkot, are listed among Iltutmish's conquests, makes it exceedingly probable that these acquisitions were preceded by concentrated operations. They were doubtless garrisoned to serve as operational bases against the hill-tribes.

This process of gradual advance up to the Indus, was, in any case, interrupted by the political upheavals caused by the Mongol eruption. By the year 617/1220, the Khwarizmi empire was no more; from the Jaxartes to the Caspian Sea and from Ghazni to Iraq, Changiz destroyed flourishing cities and great centres of learning. Alauddin Muhammad, the Khwarizm Shah, was driven across his northern provinces to find refuge and eventual death in an island on the Caspian³; his crown prince, Jalaluddin Mangbarni, expelled from Khurasan, fled southwards to Ghazni. On the way he achieved a brilliant victory over the pursuing Mongols at Barwan

Changiz Khan
and Mangbarni.

¹ Minhaj, p. 171.

² See note 4, p. 93. *supra*.

³ For a full account of the Khwarizm Shah's war with Changiz and his subsequent retreat towards the east, see Bartold: *Turkestan*, pp. 403-426. Alauddin Muhammad died in 617/1220.

but as Changiz himself moved against him from Talkan, he left Ghazni and took the road to the Indian frontier. He was overtaken on the Indus and compelled to turn round and fight in desperation. In the battle his courage and intrepidity evoked warm praise from the great Mongol, but his small force was easily overpowered. As the Mongols closed the escape routes, Mangbarni hastily put his family in a boat and sending them over to be drowned in the Indus waters, flung his horse into the river and crossed over to India¹.

The exact spot where, in 1221, this first wave of Mongol eruption touched Indian soil is still a matter of speculation². It is certain, however, that it lay not very far from the Salt Range through which, according to most of the early writers, Mangbarni made his way into the Sind Sagar Doab. Fortunately for Delhi, Changiz did not think it necessary to pursue him across the river, but engaged himself in reducing the Ighraki tribesmen who inhabited the northern reaches of the Kabul river and who had furnished contingents to the Khwarizmi forces³; his sons, Tuli and Chagatai, were sent to reduce Khurasan, Kerman and Ghazni⁴. Changiz lingered near the Indus for three months and is said to have contemplated returning to Qaraqoram through India, by way of "Lakhnauti and Kamrud and through the Qarachal mountains"⁵. He is even reported to have sent envoys to Delhi, soliciting the necessary permission from Iltutmish. Whether the

Mangbarni
and Iltutmish.

¹ For details of this battle see Juwaini, II, p. 43; also Howorth: *Mongols*, I, p. 90; en-Nessawi, p. 83-84. It was fought on the 8th Shawwal, 618.

² See Raverty: *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 338 and 448; trans. *Tab Nas*, p. 292-98; Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 445-46.

³ Minhaj, p. 355. On the Ighrakis, who are stated to have been a sept of the Khaljis, see Raverty's notes, trans. *Tab. Nas.*, p. 1048.

⁴ Juwaini, I, p. 108; Howorth: *Mongols*, I, p. 90.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 355 and 375; Juwaini, I, p. 109.

Delhi Sultan could effectively stop the Mongol if he decided to march through inspite of his reported refusal, is highly doubtful. That Changiz yet respected Delhi's sovereignty and in the winter of 1222, marched back through the Hindukush, speaks well of his moderation and his scrupulous observance of international practice¹.

Changiz spared India on this occasion, but with Mangbarni were commenced a series of invasions on the cis-Indus region. Having collected such of his followers

as had succeeded in crossing the river,

he obtained arms by a night attack on

a party of robbers near by, and then defeated a force of about five thousand Hindu troops sent by the chief of the Salt Range². News of this success reaching Changiz, a force was sent in his persuit from Ghazni. As the latter crossed the Indus, Mangbarni, anxious to avoid them, turned south towards Lahore. The Mongols, probably unwilling to open hostilities with Delhi, did not persue him into the Punjab, but contended themselves by plundering a fortress called Malikpur in the vicinity of the Salt Range³.

Mangbarni advanced three stages towards Delhi

¹ In view of the Mongol's unwillingness, shortly afterwards, to pursue Mangbarni into the Punjab when he turned to seek shelter in Delhi, it is not unlikely that Delhi had entered into some kind of a pact with Changiz. Iltutmish's refusal to shelter the fugitive prince was perhaps in accordance with this agreement.

² The Hindu force is said to have come from the hills of "Balala and Makala"—the last name being, according to Raverty, identical with Makhiala, the local name of the Salt Range; Raverty: *trans. Tab. Nas.* p. 537, note; also, see Juwalni, II, p. 143-44; en Nessawi, who calls the Hindu chief Chatar Sal, states that he himself advanced with a great force and just when Mangbarni was arranging to recross the Indus in order to avoid the "more cruel Hindus", fell upon him. In the resulting battle Chatar Sal is however said to have been killed and the Hindus dispersed; French trans. by Scheffer, p. 142. Cf. *Alf*, f. 559b, and *Ferishta*, II, p. 815, for a slightly different account.

³ According to Raverty, Malikpur was the name of a town in the Rawalpindi district; *trans. Tab. Nas.*, p. 537, note. He describes the siege of Multan on this occasion and contradicts his own statement on p. 292,

and from there sent Ainul Mulk to ask for an asylum. The request met with overt refusal on the plea of the country's uncongenial climate¹. Delhi even appeared a potential enemy. Mangbarni thereupon turned to his former refuge,—the Mongols having in the meantime retired—and sent a force to plunder the Khokar territory. The expedition proved an eminent success; not only was the Khokar chief defeated but was obliged to give his daughter in marriage and even to lend armed assistance².

This alliance immensely strengthened the fugitive's position. He now turned to establishing himself more securely at the expense of Qubachah whose dominion reached as far north as Mianwali district and even included Nandanah³. Mangbarni in Sind. Between him and the Khokars there was long-standing enmity which Mangbarni now exploited in attacking his northern districts. He opened hostilities by capturing Kallurkot and destroying a fortress

note, that the Mongol commander Turtai, "retired after plundering the neighbourhood of Malikpur". Howorth, as well as Bartold, also make the mistake of supposing that Multan was besieged on this occasion. If in 616 the Mongols really reached as far as Multan it is strange that they could not find the fugitive; all writers agree that when he left India, he did so to avoid another Mongol expedition sent in his pursuit; if we accept the view that Multan was invested in 618 by the Mongols, the proceedings of the second expedition under Turtai in 621, will have remained absolutely unknown to us. The date of Mangbarni's departure from India and that of the Mongol investment of Multan, in 621, makes it clear that in 618, the Mongols did not proceed far into the Punjab. See Howorth: *Mongols I*, p. 90; Bartold: *Turkestan*, p. 446; Minhaj, p. 143; en-Nessawi, p. 94; *Tarikh-i-Muhammad*: Or 137, f. 334a; Juwaini is not consistent in his account of the forces sent into India by Changiz; see for example, I, pp. 108, 110, 112, and II, p. 144 and 147.

¹ Juwaini, II, p. 145, states that Iltutmish even murdered the envoy; see p. 91 *supra*.

² See *IA*, 1907, p. 3, for a traditional account of this marriage current among the Khokars.

³ It was held on his behalf by Qamaruddin Kirmani, who after Mangbarni's victory over the Khokar chief, promptly submitted; en-Nessawi, p. 86. Qubachah was accused of having killed a Khwarizmi refugee; a young relation of Mangbarni had been brutally murdered at Kallurkot one of Qubachah's dependencies, en-Nessawi, p. 88.

near by. Qubachah prepared for battle, but before he could commence operations, he was routed in a night attack at Uch by the Khwarizmi general, Uzbek Pai'. Qubachah fled to Multan and when Mangbarni demanded indemnity and the return of his wife who had taken shelter at his court, he found himself obliged to make prompt compliance². The fugitive's stay in India was however, coming to an end. As he was preparing to spend the summer in the Salt Range, news of the approach of another Mongol army in his pursuit compelled him to turn southwards'. Passing by Multan he demanded money contribution, but Qubachah, now aware of the fugitive's difficulties, refused and prepared for battle. With the Mongols on his trail Mangbarni could hardly afford to fight, and proceeded to Uch where also he met with a similarly hostile reception. Setting fire to the city he then departed towards Sehwan where he compelled Qubachah's governor, Fakhruddin Salari, to submit and deliver the city. After a month's stay at Sehwan, he left to attack Debal and put the ruler, named Chanisar, to flight⁴. An expedition was next sent to Gujrat (Anhilwara) which yielded some booty⁵. The Mongols were reported to be nearing Multan; Qubachah's hostility cut him off from his Khokar ally. News then arrived that his brother Ghiyasuddin had made himself unpopular in Iraq and that the army and the people preferred his

¹ Juwaini, II, p. 146. Cf. en-Nessawi, p. 88.

² Juwaini, II, p. 147; en-Nessawi, p. 90-91, states that after defeating Qubachah, Mangbarni went to 'Nuhaor' (? meant for Lahore ?) held by a rebellious son of Qubachah who submitted promptly.

³ On his way towards the Salt Range he captured the fortress of 'Busraor' which Cunningham identified with the present Pasraur, 20 miles S.E. of Sialkot; but it is not situated on the route from the Salt Range. See Cunningham: *Reports*, XIV, p. 46-47. Ferishta adds that Mangbarni also heard of a Delhi force coming against him; II, p. 315.

⁴ Juwaini, II, p. 147. Cf. en-Nessawi, pp. 90-91.

⁵ Juwaini, II, p. 148.

rule. Mangbarni therefore called a council of his followers to decide on the course of action. Hasan Qarlugh, Uzbek Pai and others advised him to stay on and try to organise an anti-Mongol pact with the Sultan of Delhi. But the temptation to rule in Iraq "seized him"¹. Leaving Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Pai as his representatives in Afghanistan and Sind respectively, Mangbarni finally left India by way of Makran, in 621/1224².

The effect of his three years' sojourn in the western Punjab and Sind was to put heavy pressure on Delhi's administrative frontier which, as a result, gradually receded. The Indus was abolished Mongols in pursuit. even as a geographical boundary, for the cis-Indus tracts now became part of the Ghazni territory over which the Mongols, in pursuit of the remnants of the Khwarizmi officers, extended their operations. Even before Mangbarni's departure from lower Sind came the Mongol army under Turtai. Capturing Nandanah, possibly from one of Hasan Qarlugh's officers, Turtai proceeded to Multan where Qubachah had so recently sought shelter. The city was closely besieged and was about to fall when the excessive heat of the place compelled the besiegers to withdraw³. On their way back they plundered "the territories of Lahore and Multan". It does not appear that they permanently garrisoned the Nandanah fortress or occupied the area. In 623/1226, the district of Sehwan was invaded by a large force consisting of

¹ en-Nessawi, p. 92.

² Juwaini, II, p. 149.

³ Minhaj, p. 143; Juwaini, I, p. 112, writes it as *Biah*, which Elliot tries to identify with Bhera, on the west bank of the Jhelum; II, p. 392, note 1; see also Cunningham: *Reports*, XIV, p. 37-38. Minhaj, p. 143, dates it in 621/1224. See *Fawadul Fawaid* f. 59a, for a tradition of how this unexpected deliverance was ascribed to the miraculous power of the saint Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki.

Khalji tribesmen, remnants of the Khwarizmi army whom the Mongols drove from their home in Garmsir; Qubachah, however, succeeded in overpowering them¹.

The northwestern frontier region, as a result of these repeated invasions, was thus in a state of utmost confusion. In the north the Salt Range tribes were

emboldened to exploit their adversaries' weakness. They not only occupied

the whole of the northern Doab but also spread further east and even beyond the Beas² to menace Lahore which they took the earliest opportunity to sack and plunder. West of the Indus, the area known to the contemporary writers as Baniyan³ formed part of Hasan Qarlugh's dominions who precariously held whatever portion he could of his master's appanage of Ghazni. To the south was the territory of Qubachah with a rapidly declining hold on the outlying districts like Shwan and Debal. Between all these was Uzbek Pai, who, till 627/1220, remained in the Sind Sagar Doab and the Punjab and possibly in control of Multan as well⁴.

Iltutmish's annexation of Qubachah's dominions by the year 1228 brought the Delhi kingdom in direct contact with the Mongols operating from what is now modern Afghanistan. With the expulsion from Ghor of the last Khwarizmi officer, Qutbuddin Hasan⁵, increased pressure was bound to be felt on the Indus valley; even Hasan Qarlugh had to maintain his existence by a timely submission to his enemy in 628/1230⁶. In Sind the

¹ Minhaj, p. 143.

² Baziah was able to raise, from Bhatinda, a mercenary force consisting mainly of the Khokars. See p. 116 *supra*.

³ Minhaj, p. 388; for Hasan Qarlugh's coins found in Baniyan and in the Sind Sagar Doab, see Thomas: *Chronicle*, p. 99.

⁴ He issued coins in his own name and in one, with a Nagari obverse, Thomas read the mint name as Multan; *Chronicle*, no. 85.

⁵ The event is placed in 620/1223; Minhaj, p. 370.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

continued political existence of Uzbek Pai was a standing invitation to the Mongols to extend their operations thither. Even his expulsion, sometime after 1229, by the combined exertions, according to en-Nessawi¹, of Iltutmish and his own erstwhile colleague Hasan Qarlugh, does not seem to have improved matters, for, by taking over Uch and Multan, Iltutmish became a neighbour of the Mongols².

The Mongol *Quriltai*, convened for the coronation of Uktai Khan in 1229, decided on a reconquest and partial annexation of Khurasan and Afghanistan³. This resulted in a series of fresh assaults on territories contiguous to the Delhi frontier. In 633/1235, the principality of Siestan in western Afghanistan was made to acknowledge Mongol sway⁴; across the Helmand, through Beluchistan, Mongol horsemen became active in the Derajat valley leading to Upper Sind. Simultaneously, a Mongol force pushed through northern Afghanistan⁵ and commenced operations in the upper Indus. Details of their proceedings in this region are not found on record, but Iltutmish's last expedition, projected towards Baniyan, must be remembered in this connection. It seems to have been intended, in accordance with the agreement implied in his co-operation against Uzbek Pai, to assist the Qarlugh chief.

This renewed pressure from the Mongols, in any case, made Hasan's position untenable in Baniyan, and he accordingly planned to carve out a principality for

¹ pp. 90 and 217.

² He appointed governors in Uch and Multan as early as 625/1227; Minhaj pp. 232 and 234.

³ Howorth: *Mongols*, I, p. 126-27.

⁴ *Tarikh-i-Siestan*, p. 397.

⁵ *Id.*, f. 617a.

Qarlugh overtures
for alliance.

himself in the districts east of the Indus. In 634/1236, during the confusions prevailing in the reign of Firoz, he made his first attempt on Lower Sind and attacked Uch but was repelled with heavy losses¹. Very soon he was forced to cross the Indus once again, for in 636 the Mongols finally annexed his territory and drove him to seek shelter in the Punjab. He thereupon attempted to renew the friendly relation which he had with Ilutinish and sought to convert this into a full-fledged anti-Mongol alliance. His son visited Raziah's court who, while according to him all the marks of honour, showed a prudent disinclination to court Mongol hostility. From Baran, which she assigned for his expenses, and where she presumably interned him, the disappointed Qarlugh prince fled secretly to rejoin his father who had found temporary shelter with the Khokar allies of his late master². Raziah's action seems to have pleased the Mongols who, possibly because of her father's anxiety to remain neutral in Changiz's war with the Khwarizm Shah, respected her frontier and gave no help to the rebel Kabir Khan. From the details of the latter's proceedings who was obliged to halt in his westward flight, this frontier appears to have been marked by the Sodharah (Chinab) beyond which the Mongols barred his progress.

Bahram's reign saw the occurrence of events which were to result in a further constriction of this line. Following Raziah's deposition which the Mongols seem to have construed as terminating the non-aggression pact with Delhi, they decided at last on bringing India within

Lahore, the
frontier.

¹ Minhaj, p. 237.

² *Ibid.*, p. 392.

their scheme of conquest. In 639/1241 Bahadur Tair, the commander of the Mongol forces in Herat, Ghor, Ghazni and Tukharistan, crossed the Indus and for the first time appeared before Lahore. The city was ill-prepared to stand a siege and the inhabitants showed a fatal indifference to the danger. In spite of an urgent appeal to Delhi, the machinations of the *wazir* diverted the reinforcements, and the governor, Malik Qaraqash, was obliged to flee the city. As the defences were breached the next morning, the citizens, now roused to action, put up a desperate street-fight but it was merely to delay the eventual occupation¹. The invaders, however, did not garrison Lahore, but, in order to open the route for an eventual advance on Delhi, practically depopulated the town and destroyed its defences. On their departure the Khokar tribes swarmed into whatever remained of the city and completely gutted it. Qaraqash, returning to collect his belongings, however, succeeded in driving them out, and, under Masud, the '*iqta*' of Lahore is said to have been placed under Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khan². But the city remained deserted and had to be thoroughly rebuilt and repopulated after Balban's accession. From Masud's time the province became the 'frontier', the inner line corresponding roughly to the Ravi: the force that at last was sent out in response to Qaraqash's appeal was despatched towards Lahore "to guard the frontiers"³.

In Sind also repercussions of the Mongol offensive seriously jeopardised Delhi's hold. Hasan Qarlugh, now desperately in need of a secure shelter, opened his attacks on Multan. The town was held by Kabir Khan, who had lately revolted against Masud and had forcibly siezed Uch also⁴.

¹ Minhaj, p. 392 sq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

After many attempts Hasan succeeded, in 643/1245, in wresting Multan¹. Thus, with Uch in the possession of the rebel Kabir Khan, the whole of Sind was lost. A Mongol invasion, early next year, however, unexpectedly enabled Masud's government to recover a partial control of the province. Mangutah, who succeeded Bahadur Tair in the Afghanistan command, crossed the Indus to chase, as the sequel seems to show, Hasan Qarlugh out of Sind. The latter thereupon hastily left Multan and fled down the Panjnad to Sehwan and thence to lower Sind². The Mongols, guided by Jaspal Sihra, the chief of the Salt Range, then directed their attention to Uch which was evacuated by Kabir Khan. The townsmen put up a brave defence and even inflicted sharp reverses on the besiegers but, at the end, they found single-handed resistance difficult to continue and sent an appeal to Delhi for succour. The *naib* Ulugh Khan (Balban) at once siezed this opportunity and speedily marched at the head of a strong force to their assistance. By a flank movement along the northern bank of the Beas, he threatened to cut off the Mongols' line of retreat through the Upper Sind Sagar Doab³. Sensing this danger, and informed of the great number of the Delhi troops, the latter thereupon raised the siege and withdrew beyond the Indus leaving a large number of captives behind.

Ulugh Khan found no opposition in occupying Uch and also the undefended Multan. Leaving both the towns under the charge of Kashlu Khan⁴, he moved his forces to the north in order to chastise the hill-tribes

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 225 and 287.

² The Panjnad then flowed east of Multan; *IGI*, XVII, I, p. 85; *JASB*, 1892, p. 157, note; Raverty: *trans. Tab. Nas.* p. 1155, note 6.

³ For details of this strategic move see Minhaj, p. 268-69 and p. 400: also for a detailed discussion of the route and, incidentally, of the old river beds of the Punjab rivers, see Raverty: *The Mikhra of Sind*, *JASB*, 1892, pp. 162-66.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 269.

for their late depredations on Lahore and also for their assistance to the Mongols. The operation, however, had to be postponed because of the political move at Delhi designed to remove Masud from the throne, which required Ulugh Khan's early return.

Ulugh Khan's exertions could change but little the situation in the west. The following year witnessed another Mongol invasion led by the Nuin, Sali Bahadur, and once again Delhi suzerainty was negatived from over Sind. The invaders proceeded to Multan and by a close siege compelled the deputy governor, Changiz Khan, to open negotiations for peace. The saint Baha-uddin Zakariya was sent to ask Shamsuddin Kurt, the vassal ruler of Herat who accompanied the Mongols on this occasion, to intercede for the besieged town and an indemnity of 100,000 *dinars* was offered¹. Agreeing to the terms, Sali raised the siege and marched on to Lahore whose governor had to purchase immunity by a similar contribution. He even agreed to be a tributary vassal of the Mongols². The political settlements following Mahnud's accession probably kept Ulugh Khan busy at Delhi and no reinforcement could at once be sent to the affected regions. His expedition towards the end of the same year, although ostensibly planned to resume operations against the Rana Jaspal of the Salt Range, yet could not have been entirely unconnected with this Mongol invasion³. On reaching the Chinab, he pushed into the hills and is reported to have inflicted prodigious losses on the tribesmen, and to have plundered "as far as the neighbourhood of

¹ *Bausatul-Jinnat*: f. 192b. Minhaj skips over the incident; Cf. Raverty: *trans. Tab. Nas.* p. 677, note and p. 1201, note.

² *Bausatul-Jinnat*, *idem*. The governor of Lahore is called Kurek Khan, possibly identical with Kurek who was the deputy governor of Multan a few years later under Sher Khan; see Minhaj, p. 277.

³ Minhaj, p. 209, however, states that it was meant to relieve Multan.

Nandanah". If the reference to Nandanah meant an attempt to recover the fortress it must have proved unsuccessful, for, although the Delhi forces are said to have reached the Indus on this occasion, their operations were evidently confined to the districts east of and adjacent to the Jhelum. Beyond, were the Mongols who "from the ferries of the Jhelum beheld the Mussalman troops serving under Ulugh Khan and fear fell upon their hearts". In spite of this allegedly triumphant advance across the Chinab, the tract beyond the Ravi, for all practical purposes was lost and formed the Mongol sphere of influence. Shamsuddin's successor, Ruknuddin Kurt of Herat, exercised sway over territories extending up to the Indus river and is even reported to have controlled the highways "as far as the frontiers of Delhi"². When Lahore is next mentioned in the pages of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* under the year 652/1254, it is described as a Mongol dependency.

In Sind the set-back to Mahmud's authority continued. Shortly after 647/1249 Hasan Qarlugh again appeared before the walls of Multan and Kashlu Khan hastened to its defence from Uch. In the siege operations the Qarlugh chief was killed but his forces succeeded in occupying the town³. Multan remained in possession of the Qarlughs, until, following Kashlu's futile attempts to regain control, it was recovered, possibly under instructions from Delhi, by Sher Khan, the governor of Bhatinda⁴. On his trying to recapture it subsequently Kashlu was repulsed and in 648/1250 Sher Khan dispossessed him of Uch⁵ also. To celebrate the

Sind, a highly insecure possession.

and destroy the 'infidels of Chin'.

¹ *Ibid*, 290.

² Minhaj, 270.

⁴ See Ferishta, I, p. 125. Minhaj p. 277.

² *Bausatul-Jinnat*, I, 100b.

⁵ Minhaj, pp. 214, 271.

return of the districts to Delhi, a number of Mongol captives, sent by the deputy governor of Multan, were ceremoniously paraded in the capital¹. But Sind was to prove a highly insecure possession, for distance from Delhi and the proximity of the Mongols frequently strained the governors' loyalty. Between Sher Khan and the '*maliks* of the capital' a great deal of estrangement is reported by the chronicler; during the year of Ulugh Khan's banishment from the capital, even armed strife is said to have taken place between the two². Whether Sher's subsequent defection was in any way connected with the general opposition to Rayhan's ascendancy in Mahmud's government, the chronicle gives us no clear indication; it merely states that following a reverse which he suffered on the banks of the Indus, he betook himself to Turkestan and to the court of the Mongol emperor Mangu Khan at Qaraqoram³.

Unless he can be proved to have been carried a prisoner by the Mongols, Sher Khan's action must be regarded as open treason against Delhi. Minhaj makes a mystery of his real motive, but a similar defection about the same time, of prince Jalaluddin Masud, brother of the reigning king, and his subsequent proceedings in India, make it tolerably clear⁴. Masud was appointed in 646/1248 to the provinces of Sambhal and Budaun, but for some unexplained reason, is stated to have

Sher Khan and
prince Masud.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 215; see also Haji Dabir, II, p. 715.

² In Uch, Multan and Bhatinda which he held, he was replaced by Aralan Khan; this was obviously to exclude the Turkish chiefs of Ulugh Khan's party; Sher Khan, it seems, had to be removed by force; the resulting animosity is alluded to by Minhaj, p. 271. The same allusion seems also to be intended on p. 277, though the language, most probably corrupt here, suggests strife with Ulugh Khan.

³ Minhaj, p. 217, 277; he is contradictory in his statements; see Raverty's notes, *op. cit.* p. 792; *T.A.*, I, p. 75, Budauni, I, p. 91.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 212; Raverty's trans. p. 684.

suddenly become alarmed and fled, through the Sirmur hills, to Lahore then, as shown above, under Mongol suzerainty. Ulugh Khan's expedition in the same year "to the upper provinces as far as the waters of the Beas" must have had some connection with Masud's flight¹. According to Wassaf², the latter then proceeded to the court of Mangu Khan, where his presence, along with Qutlugh Khan and Sunqar (Sherkhan Sunqar) is noticed by Binagiti also,—'all the three having fled in fear of Ulugh Khan'. Obviously, some kind of active support against either Ulugh Khan or the hated Rayhan, then in possession of power, was sought from the Mongol sovereign; Masud probably added his own claim to his father's kingdom. They were all received honourably befitting their ranks. It served the Mongol's purpose to patronise Masud and to install him at least as a vassal ruler over their trans-Indus possessions. He was therefore sent back to Lahore with instructions to obtain the necessary help from Sali Bahadur. The latter accordingly escorted him through the Punjab. Masud was thus enabled to take possession of the districts extending from the Salt Range upto Lahore and including, it is added, Kujah and Sodharah³. From the mention of Hajner, beyond which the escorting Mongols expressed their inability to proceed⁴, it is possible to fix the boundary of Delhi at this time along the old bed of the Sutlej. It seems not improbable that their unwillingness to cross the frontier arose from the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

² Add. 28517, f. 254b.

³ *Tarikh-i-Binagiti*, quoted by Raverty, p. 1225, note. The Christian missionary Rubrequious, then staying with Mangu, according to Raverty, noticed and even travelled back for some weeks with, "an Indian ambassador".

⁴ Wassaf: *op. cit.* *idem*; *Binagiti*, f. 116b. Sodharah, or Sodhras, is probably the town of that name, on the ancient ford of the Chinab river, five miles above Wazirabad; Cunningham: *Reports*, XIV, p. 43.

⁵ Elliot, III, p. 37, wondered if Hajner is not a corruption for Ajmer;

existence of some kind of truce with the Delhi government.

Shortly after his return, while Sher Khan was still at the Mongol court, Masud is reported to have joined, "from the direction of Lahore", Ulugh Khan's party, assembled at Bhatinda for armed action against Rayhan¹, most probably on the proffered assurance of being raised to Mahmud's throne. After the latter's reconciliation with the party, the promise however, could not be implemented and the disappointed prince must have prepared for active hostility. This, at any rate, is the suggestion contained in Minhaj's statement, recording the settlement of the dispute, that "as a result of a party of *amirs* interposing between the two (the Sultan and his brother) . . . after vows, pledges and stipulation, the latter presented himself and Lahore became his "*iqta*"².

It is unlikely that Masud felt constrained to repudiate his Mongol suzerains; Sher Khan, on his return "with honours" a little later, is stated to have joined him at Lahore. Their relations do not, however, appear to have been happy, a situation which Ulugh Khan must have exploited to win over his cousin and thus, by setting him against the Mongol *protégé*, to attempt the recovery of Lahore. Sher Khan, in any case, fell out with Masud who thereupon is reported to have "retired unsuccessful" leaving his family to be

The Beas frontier.

but there could be little doubt as to its identity with Janer, midway between Ludhiana and Firozpur, near the old bed of the Sutlej, on the road from Lahore to Kaithal; Cunningham: *Reports*, XIV, p. 67. Rashiduddin, in his *Jamiat-tawarikh*, quoting obviously from al-Biruni who however, has Jajjaner (I, p. 206), wrote it as Hajner, and Cunningham noticed in some MSS., it was actually written Janer. Minhaj lists the place as one of Iltutmish's conquests; the printed text has Janjer, clearly a misreading for Hajner.

¹ Minhaj, p. 300.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219; Raverty's trans. p. 700.

captured by Sher¹. This accorded well with the plans of Mahmud's government with whom Sher Khan was shortly after reconciled; he was even restored to his former possession of Bhatinda from where Arslan Khan, who had repulsed Sher's recent unauthorised attack on the fortress, was now transferred to Awadh².

Masud's elimination, however, did not mean an immediate extension of Delhi's frontier on the west, for now the Beas, flowing in its own bed before the Sutlej joined it, from the east³, is referred to as the frontier. In 655/1256 the Mewati rebellion could not be dealt with effectively because of the "Mongols having arrived to harass the frontiers of Delhi, namely, Sind, Lahore and the line of the river Beah"⁴.

The control over Sind remained equally uncertain. Shortly after Sher Khan's withdrawal from Sind, Uch and Multan were restored to Kashlu Khan. But within

a year of his appointment he revolted, transferred his allegiance to Hulaku, and through the agency of Ruknuddin

Mongol suzerainty
over Sind.

Kurt of Herat, even received a Mongol resident. After the failure of his attack in Delhi, made, as has been mentioned on a previous page, in alliance with Qutluq Khan in 1257, he betook himself to Hulaku in Khurasan and presumably, sought armed assistance. The latter received him kindly but in accordance with the policy followed in assisting Jalaluddin Masud's installation in the Punjab, did not countenance a full-scale attack on Delhi proper, and even issued strict orders to Sali Bhadur "not to allow a single Mongol horsemen to cross the Delhi border"⁵. Kashlu left his son as a hostage and returned with Sali Bahadur's troops, obviously

¹ Minhaj, pp. 277-78.

² *Ibid*, pp. 266, 278.

³ See *JASB*, 1886, p. 322, *sq.*; *LA*, 1932, pp. 168-69.

⁴ Minhaj, 314; Raverty's trans. p. 351.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 322.

to protect him against a possible attack by Mahmud's forces¹. On the receipt of the news of their crossing the Indus, Ulugh Khan made great military preparations but on learning that the Mongols had only destroyed the Multan fortifications and were not intending to cross the 'frontier', he took no further action and disbanded the specially recruited army².

This forbearance on the part of both Delhi and the Mongols suggests an understanding among them, and some kind of agreement to respect each other's territorial suzerainty. Delhi in any case tacitly acquiesced in the transference of the whole of Sind and western Punjab to the Mongols. Ulugh Khan was even constrained to take active steps to avoid hostility with their vassals. Ever since Sher Khan's reappointment in Bhatinda he aimed at reacquiring Multan and Uch and was found to be conducting hostile operations against Kashlu Khan. As this was bound to involve Delhi in hostilities with the Mongols, Ulugh Khan, in 657/1258, had him transferred to Kol, Gwalior and the adjacent provinces to the east, "in order to avoid strife on the frontier"³. Malik Nusrat Khan, on whose prudence the government of Delhi could rely, was then placed in charge of the provinces of "Bhatinda, Sunam, Samana, Hajner, and Lakhwal (?) and the frontiers as far the ferries of the river Beah"⁴. The same year, an agent of Ulugh Khan, conveying his assent to the proposal of his son's marriage with a daughter of Hasan Qarlugh's son Nasiruddin, (who had finally settled down in Baniyan as a Mongol vassal,) on passing through Kashlu Khan's territories was stopped by

¹ Minhaj, p. 273.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 310-11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

Mongol officers. He demanded to be sent to Hulaku in Khurasan, to whom he presented a friendly letter from Delhi containing, it may be presumed, assurances of non-aggression¹. Hulaku appreciated these gestures and next year, 658/1259, Minhaj records the arrival in Delhi of envoys from Hulaku who were received with great honour and ostentation². No resulting formal agreement, however, is recorded, but Hulaku, we are told, issued strict order to his commanding officers on this occasion to respect the Delhi frontier.

At the close of Minhaj's account, therefore, Mahmud's government had practically reconciled itself to the loss of Sind and the greater portion of the Punjab beyond the Beas. Kashlu Khan is never heard of again; by what process Multan and Uch were recovered to appear, in Barani's account, as part of Balban's dominions, can only be guessed. Hulaku's death terminating the unwritten agreement may have been followed by a series of expeditions to which Isami seems vaguely to refer³. The reorganization of the Sind province which Balban placed under his eldest son, a few years after his accession, must have been one of his earliest achievements. The prince led almost annual expeditions across the border capturing Tatar horses and holding the Mongols in check, probably along the Indus waters.

In the Punjab, however, the Mongols proved difficult to dislodge. Barani, writing ninety five years later, speaks of Sher Khan as being in charge of Bhatinda, Dipalpur and Lahore at the time of Balban's accession; and until he was poisoned by the new king, he is described as having been like 'the walls of *Gog and Magog*

¹ Minhaj, pp. 320-23.

³ See p. 182 *supra*.

² *Ibid*, pp. 317-319.

to the Mongols' and also to have thoroughly curbed the lawless Jats, Khokars, Mandahirs, Bhattis and the Minas. In his enthusiasm for Sher Khan's marvellous feats, Barani even ascribes to him the conquest of Ghazni, a statement whose demonstrable inaccuracy should vitiate the rest of the account¹. In point of fact, these successes against the tribes must be ascribed to the period of Sher Khan's governorship of Bhatinda and the frontier provinces where he was replaced by Nusrat Khan in 1258. Barani's reference to his victories over the Mongols would presuppose his retransfer to the province after 1260 and the recovery of the entire area between the Beas and the Ravi. Dipalpur, at any rate, never figures again in the annals of Balban's reign except only as a frontier area; Lahore is mentioned only once, when, two years after his expedition into the Salt Range undertaken early in the reign, he proceeded thither to rebuild the town and appoint administrative officers². It neither formed part of the Sind viceroyalty, nor is any governor mentioned by name. When Sher Khan died, 'four or five years after Balban's accession and thirty years after Iltutmish's death'³, Barani mentions the appointment of Tamur Khan to the "frontier *iqtas*" of Sunam and Samana, the rest of Sher's possessions being given to other officers. "But," he adds "they were no match for the Mongols and they never achieved the success obtained by Sher Khan"⁴.

Even towards the end of Balban's reign his western boundary could not have extended much further than

¹ Barani, p. 65. The tribes mentioned are known to have inhabited northern Rajputana, from Bikaner to Bhatinda; see Cunningham; *Reports*, VI, p. 8 and XXIII, p. 223. Sher Khan is reported to have built the Bhatner fortress.

² Barani, p. 60 and 70.

³ See p. 169, *supra*.

⁴ Minhaj, pp. 65-66.

the Beas. In the same year in which prince Muham-
 mud was appointed over Sind, Bughra
 Sunam-Samana, the frontier
 province, Khan took over the province of Samana
 and Sunam, evidently in succession to
 Tamur Khan. He received special instructions to in-
 crease the number and efficiency of his troops so as to
 be constantly ready for the Mongols. This province
 remained the frontier for the rest of our period; the
 following passage from Barani's history will make it
 abundantly clear: "Often in those days the Mongol
 horsemen used to cross the Beas and enter the territory
 (of Delhi). Balban used to despatch Bughra from
 Samana, Khan-i-Shahid (prince Muhammad) from
 Multan and Malik Bektars from Delhi (to fight them).
 They would then march upto the waters of the river
 Beas and expel the Mongols. (In this manner) they
 obtained several victories and as a result, the Mongols
 never dared approach the river any more"¹. Defence
 measures on this region were further improved when
 Balban decided to transfer Bughra to Lakhnauti. For
 greater facility of resistance, the province was convert-
 ed into a military command under Malik Sunj, with
 smaller military districts placed under officers of proved
 ability. This Sunam-Samana command, detailed to
 hold the Beas line, was to work under the orders of the
 viceroy of Sind who, as the officer commanding the
 frontier force, was made responsible for the defence of
 the entire northwestern frontier².

This co-ordination proved effective and the Mongols
 were held back. In the last year of Balban's reign, they
 launched a large-scale attack under the leadership of
 Tamur Khan, the new commander of the Afghanistan
 forces. From the north they entered the Sind Sagar

¹ Minhaj, p. 81; Elliot's translation of the passage is faulty; 111, p. 112.

² *Ibid*, p. 75.

Doab and after plundering the Lahore and Dipalpur region advanced to within three *farasangs* from Multan¹. In the battle that followed, prince Muhammad's forces, after an initial success, were routed and the prince was killed, an event which forms the theme of one of Amir Khusrau's famous elegies². A large number of Muslims were slain and, in the poet's language "in Multan, in every house there was some dead to be wept for"³. The defeat, though disastrous for the number of casualties it entailed, was, however, nothing more than a local reverse, for the Mongols did not follow up their victory by an occupation of the area. The hold on Multan remained unaffected and Kaikhusaru found no difficulty in entering on his father's viceroyalty.

At the end of Balban's reign therefore, the boundary of Delhi in the Punjab remained, roughly, along the water-parting between the Ravi and Beas; as on his accession, most of the province formed the Mongol sphere of influence. In spite of Kaiqubad's incompetence and the consequent laxity of vigilance, the defence system remained intact and refused to yield further advantage to the invaders. Ferishta⁴, quoting from two earlier sources which are no longer extant, states that following his forced removal from the throne, Kaikhusrau entered into correspondence with Tamur Khan, the

Western frontier
on Balban's death.

¹ Barani, p. 109 and Ferishta, I, p. 82, state that the battle was fought between Lahore and Dipalpur but *TM*, p. 45, quoting in full Amir Hasan's description of the event, places the site three *farasangs* from Multan near a garden, on the Lahore waters (Ravi) adjoining (partly enclosed by) the great sheet of the waters of the Dihandah: The translator of the *TA*, adds in a note that Dihandah was the name of a river near Ajodhan, S.W. of Dipalpur; Trans. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, p. 114.

² See Mitrza: *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, pp. 56-59, for a translation of the poem which is quoted in full in Budauni: *Muntakhabat-twarikh*, I, p. 138.

³ Mirza: *op. cit.* p. 63. The poet himself was taken captive but managed to escape.

⁴ *Tarikh*, I, p. 84.

Mongol general, and in the hope of obtaining armed assistance, even paid him a visit at Ghazni. The latter had realised the strength of Balban's frontier force and showed little enthusiasm over the proposal, and the prince, it is added, had to return disappointed. According to Amir Khusrau, Kaikhusrau's successor in Multan reported a victory over the Mongols within six months of Kaiqubad's accession¹. On the eve of the king's departure to meet his father in Awadh, news was brought of another Mongol invasion; Tamur Khan had again overrun the territory from Multan to Lahore and had laid waste "the whole country as far as Samana"². Malik Bektars was at once despatched at the head of thirty thousand troops, who easily routed them on the Ravi and took a great number of prisoners³. He is even said to have pursued the Mongols as far as the Salt Range⁴.

These successes however, only emphasised the strength of Balban's frontier defence; they meant no appreciable advance into the trans-Ravi tract. The end of the Memluke dynasty thus found the Mongols firmly established over the greater portion of the Punjab and also along the western bank of the lower Indus. As yet they had shown a consistent disinclination—either for military reasons or in view of a political truce—to attack Delhi proper. The Khalji dynasty was to find them get over this restraint and, from their base in the Punjab, launch determined assaults on the capital and, in a series of final all-out efforts, expend their fury.

¹ Amir Khusrau: *Girānus-Sadāim*, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, p. 49. *TM*, p. 54.

³ Amir Khusrau: *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴ *TM*, p. 54. Yahya adds that on the Delhi force reaching the limits of Lahore, the Mongols fled without battle and were then pursued as far as the foothills (*Kohpyāh*) of 'Jammu'. 'Jud' undoubtedly must be the word meant here.

CHAPTER X

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The foregoing pages will have shown the extent to which the organisers of the Delhi Sultanate had to busy themselves with problems of expansion and defence.

Nature of
Memeluke
administration.

These military problems, in fact, lasted nearly the whole of the century. The state, under such circumstances, was bound to resemble the organization of an army in occupation and hence had to be, in the main, military. Its civil functions emerged only gradually and at a converse ratio to the disappearance of security problems. In its original structure, the Sultanate exhibited little planning. The conquerors imported certain institutions from their homeland and from Persia, most of which they found already in use in the Ghaznawide Punjab and which, but for the designations, were not unfamiliar to Indian practice. The Memelukes started with the minimum of interference with governmental notions and habits; the change, impelled by the conquest, was not so much administrative as political. In the details of local government and revenue practice, in which, it should be noted, the new *regime* initially affected the conquered people, the Memelukes are not known to have attempted any noticeable alteration at all. In matters which were more or less exclusive to the conquerors themselves, like the central administration, army and the judicial organization, the reproduction of their own famelier methods was only natural.

Inadequacy of such improvised administration was realised only with the passage of time and as the conquerors, losing contact with their home, were thrown solely on Indian life, and as the occupation, spreading to the country side, tended to become permanent. Within their own ranks new problems arose, and the changing military situation demanded new adjustments. Yet no administrative planning could be undertaken or executed; improvised solutions were all that the situation would permit. The Memeluke administration was, therefore, mainly a series of experiments and tendencies which did not crystallise into a comprehensive system until a new dynasty came to power.

The appended account of the 13th century Muslim administration is intended to bring out this compromise and provisional nature. The chroniclers, too busy in recording military events, leave large gaps in our knowledge of the institutions and their working; these have to be filled, in a large measure, by reference to the non-Indian setting of such institutions which, as explained above, must have formed the starting point of Indo-Muslim administration.

As the supreme ruler of Islam, the Caliph had long been reduced to a mere shadow. With the ascendancy of the Turks, early in the 9th century, commenced the

Caliph, the
legal suzerain.

rapid process of his decline; the Buwide rulers of Hamadan were the first of a series of dynasties, who, by occupying Baghdad and tolerating the Caliph as a puppet, demonstrated the emergence in the bosom of Islam, of what may perhaps be described as nation-states. The Abbaside family retained its moral leadership and even sovereignty over portions of Iraq, but only by the courtesy of the Ghaznawide, Seljuq and the Khwarizmi

emperors. Besides the rival Caliphate of the Fatimides in Egypt, new principalities arose whose rulers wielded unquestioned sovereignty, thus converting the *Darul Islam* into a multiple state-system. Yet constitutional law was chary to recognise the passing of the Caliph, for it knew of only one temporal sovereign for the indivisible world of Islam. Juristic ingenuity therefore, found a solution by according to the new rulers the status of a viceroy to whom, either formally or by implicit acquiescence, power was supposed to have been delegated by the Caliph. Religious belief accorded well with this arrangement and the Caliph's exclusive sovereignty over the Islamic world was thus continued by a legal fiction. What was originally a matter of courtesy, however, became, in course of time, a legal obligation and a formal appointment by the Caliph was considered as conferring extra dignity; even where no direct delegation of power took place, legal scruple demanded an invocation of the Caliph's name in the *khutbah* and coin. From the tenth century the Abbaside Caliphate thus lived on merely as a symbol of Islam's original unity to whom almost every Muslim ruler owed at least a token allegiance.

Muizzuddin's kingdom was thus, on paper, a province of the Caliphial empire, and as such, his early coins, issued in Delhi, bore the name of the reigning Caliph as a matter of course. By receiving a formal investiture from al-Mustansirbillah, Iltutmish made the Delhi Sultanate a direct vassal. None of his successors repeated the process but no one repudiated the legal vassalage; in coins and in the *khutbah* the Caliph's name continued as the legal sovereign, even long after the last Abbaside yielded up his life to Mongol brutalities. Meanwhile, to

the Sultan's name were added appropriate phrases indicating his lieutenantcy. By even inscribing the Caliph's name in Nagari characters on the currency pieces, occasional affirmation was made to the non-Muslims of the Delhi state being part of a world empire¹.

Theoretically, therefore, the Memeluke king claimed to be no more than a viceroy, but in actual practice his sovereignty was absolute. But for the

The actual king. personal and religious portion of the *Shariah*, his power knew no limitation.

He was the supreme executive and judicial authority and power as well as honour could be held only from him. Like the Caliph, he was the supreme interpreter and enforcer of the *Shariah*. Prudence as well as legal rules, however, suggested recourse to the advice of learned ecclesiastics. But the majority of this class was not above temptation; an unholy alliance with them smoothened the path of the king's despotism. There were on the other hand some practical and hence very real checks on his power. Apart from the consequences of an open violation of religious rules in an age when religion was a much more potent force than can be imagined now, the fear of causing rebellion compelled the kind to abide by some accepted rules of conduct. His legislative powers, like those of the Caliph, were greatly limited and, even in strictly secular matters like administration, at least a formal conformity with the principles of the *Shariah* could not be dispensed with. Though imbued with the Iranian idea of a divinely appointed, almost sacrosanct kingship, yet the Turkish mind still held, though in a diminishing degree, to the racial polity; every clan-leader was a potential king. Dynastic legitimacy was

¹ For some coins of this type see Wright, p. 26, nos. 48, 49.

not always a guarantee of continued sovereignty. Even capable and strong rulers felt the need of cloaking their despotism by placating legal opinion and affected great reverence for the personal rules of Islam.

The Sultan's assumption of such powers was not likely to evoke adverse comment among the Indians, for a Hindu king was also a divinely appointed person and his autocracy was limited only by the practical need to observe the *Shastra* and forestall rebellion.

The Sultan was thus the motive force of everything in the realm. His secular duties he performed himself; those pertaining to the application of the personal and religious law of the Muslims were left to an expert divine, the *Sheikhul Islam*¹.

Next to the Sultan, the chief executive office belonged to the *wazir*. Primarily he was one of the four departmental heads, the "four pillars of state;" but

his rank was a little above the others.
The *wazir*, for he was the chief minister. The officer, who usually was styled the *Nizamul Mulk*, *Muayyidul Mulk*, *Sadrul Mulk*, or *Ainul Mulk*, was recruited from the writer class (*ahl-i-qalam*) as distinct from the fighters (*ahl-i-saif*)². Over other ministers he exercised a general supervisory authority; that he was in a position to override other departmental heads seems to be implied by the *wazir* Muhazzabuddin taking all power out of the hands of the Turks. Normally, every single act of the *wazir* was to have the Sultan's prior sanction. He does not appear to have had any judicial functions,

¹ Iltutmish offered this office to Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, and on his refusal, gave it to Najmuddin Suhra; *Siarul Arafm*, f. 57a. In 1253 Mahmud appointed Jamaluddin Bustami who, on his death, was succeeded by his son; *Minhaj* pp. 220 and 226.

² Fakhre Mudir: *Adabul Harb*, f. 56b.

but as the chief minister, his supervisory jurisdiction would include the organization and command of the army also¹; as the finance minister he controlled the military pay office. He even occasionally commanded troops in battle². As the Sultan's chief counsellor, he had access to him at all times. Probably he received a fixed salary for there is no mention of any assignment of revenue in his case; Muhazzabuddin is reported to have appropriated the *iqta* of Kol to himself, but this was considered unauthorised as was also his assumption of two of the royal prerogatives, the '*naubat* and the elephant'³. Qalqashandi and also Shaha-buddin Abbas, referring to the time of Muhammad b. Tughluq, however, speak of official appanages—'a province as large as Iraq'—being enjoyed by the *wazir*, whose assistants and clerks also are said to have held towns and villages, besides pay, "the worst paid among them receiving 10,000 tankah per year"⁴. Besides the improbability of this being the case in the 13th century, some exaggeration must be attributed to this account. The *wazir* was assisted by a *naib* who was usually promoted to the higher office⁵.

Although technically the chief minister, his powers fell far short of what al-Mawardi describes as the

¹ Fakhre Mudir: *Adabul Harb*, f. 36 & 53b. In the 13th century however, the *wazir* was overshadowed by other officers and generally was anything but the highest executive officer. Under the later Tughluqs he rose in power and really became the prime minister when he personally looked after the equipment of troops and even held reviews; Aff; *Tarikh-i-Firozshah*, 193, 442. Such assumption of interfering authority in other departments must be ruled out under the Memelukes; even his jurisdiction over the military accounts was put an end to by Balban, as will be noticed hereafter. Cf. Qureshi: p. 78-79.

² *Tajul Maasir*, f. 237a; Minhaj, p. 173.

³ Minhaj, p. 198.

⁴ *Subhul A'sha*, V, p. 94; Elliot: III, p. 578.

⁵ For the *naib-wazir's* duties see Barani, p. 454. Instances of promotion are afforded by the careers of Muhazzabuddin, and Khaja Khatir; Minhaj p. 187 and Barani, p. 24.

wazirut-tafwis (the *wazir* with unlimited powers)¹.

The Memelukes appear to have had one *wazir* at a time, but Minhaj ascribes three to Muizzuddin². Even as a bureaucratic administrator he lost much of his importance after Iltutnish's death, when the *amir-i-hajib*, the *wakil-i-dar*, and finally the *naib-i-mamlakat* superseded him in power. He was then reduced, in practice at least, to a mere departmental head, in charge of finance and revenue; the *masnad-i-wazarat* (office of the prime minister) continued to be held by him, but the *diwan-i-wazarat* (finance ministry) was the only department be really controlled, and which always formed his own portfolio. Through his fiscal staff he collected land revenue from the unassigned land, (*khalisah*) and tribute from the vassal princes. By far the largest amount of his department's routine work was auditing the accounts of the provincial governors and realising the surplus revenue, sometimes even by violent methods³. He had an army of clerks under him. The audit section of the ministry was run by two officers, the *mushrif-i-mamalik* and *mustaufi-i-mamalik* whose functions correspond to those of the chief accountant and auditor general of the kingdom⁴. The *amil*, *karkun* and *mustasarif*, comprised his

¹ Al Mawardi: *op. cit.* pp. 21-24; see also Khudabukhsh; *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*, p. 246-248.

² p. 126.

³ No direct reference is found in the 13th century chronicles to such duties, but instances from Khalji and Tughluq history confirm the above statement. For Ghiyasuddin Tughluq's instructions to his *wazir* regarding the collection of the land revenue, see Barani, p. 429. For a reference to the ministry's audit work under Firoz Tughluq, see Afif: *op. cit.* p. 414. The ministry sometimes sent out auditors to provincial governments; such auditors were called *mukasib*. See Amir Khusrau: *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi*: f. 106 sq. for the copy of a report sent by the *Mukasib* about the refusal of the *mugti* of Manikpur, in 909/1309, to render his accounts or pay up the surplus due.

⁴ The *mushrif* is not mentioned as an accountant in the 13th century writings, but Afif speaks of his functions in the ministry as of long standing; *op. cit.* p. 409-410. Firoz Tughluq raised the *mustaufi*'s importance and empowered him to interfere with all sections of the *diwan-i-wazarat*;

fiscal and clerical staff¹. The office work of the *diwan-i-wazarat*, must have been elaborate, even in that early stage of governmental organization, to merit Fakhre Mudir's description of the *wazir* "as ruling over a highly complex department²." We hear of Muhammad Tughluq's *wazir* having four *dabirs* (secretaries) under him each of whom had a staff of 300 clerks³. Afif, writing of Firoz Tughluq's time, remarks, "if one wants to describe the work of the *diwan-i-wazarat*, one has to write a book⁴."

Next in importance to the *wazir* was the *ariz-i-mamalik*, the head of the army department (*diwan-i-arz*). He kept the *iqtdar's* (military assignee) muster-roll, recruited new troops, and looked after the equipment and efficiency of the fighting forces⁵. He was, besides, the paymaster-general of the army. His *naib* of whom there could be more than one at a time, accompanied the army in campaigns and arranged for provision and transport and took charge of the booty⁶. The *ariz* occasionally held reviews of the fighting services. These were meant, in addition to inspecting the equipment and general smartness, to facilitate the disbursement of pay and also to receive the contingents furnished by the provincial governors. Balban's *ariz*, Imadul Mulk, used to reward the troops out of his own resources and is specially praised for his conscientious discharge of duties⁷. He was given wide powers to increase the rate of soldiers' pay, and was made

he was finally made the auditor general of the kingdom; Afif; *op. cit.* p. 376. Under the *Mustaufi* was another official called *waquf*, created by Firoz Khalji, to examine the items of expenditure. He also created the post of *nazir* to examine the returns of the *Amal* submitted to the *mushrif*, Afif; *op. cit.* p. 420.

¹ Barani, p. 288-89.

² *Adabul Harb*, f. 36a.

³ Abbas; *Masalikul Absar*, Elliot, III, p. 578.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 420.

⁵ Barani, p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.

independent of the *wazir's* financial control. Barani records his practice of occasionally entertaining his office staff and begging of them not to take bribe from the *muqti's* representatives or to misappropriate any portion of the soldiers' pay, a vice which, would thus appear to have been quite common and which by later instances is not proved as having been rooted out. The *ariz* was probably paid in assignments for Imadul Mulk is said to have granted many villages for public charities out of his own *iqta*¹.

The third ministry was the royal chancellery, which Minhaj seems to designate as *diwan-i-ashraf* but which, subsequently and in general practice, was known as the *diwan-i-insha*². Its function was to draft royal proclamations and despatches and to communicate with the local executive officers. It had a large staff of secretaries, called *dabir*, the head or *sahib* was usually known as the *sadrul mulk*. The Sultan's private *dabir* was known as the *dabir-i-khas*. His duty was to accompany the king and, besides taking charge of his correspondence, to compile the *Fath Namah* (victory communique)³. The *sahib-i-diwan-i-insha* was in close touch with the Sultan and was the keeper of government records.

In Bughra Khan's description of the state in course of his advice to Kaiqubad, the fourth ministry is called *diwan-i-rasalat*⁴. Its functions are not outlined but the term *rasalat* suggests foreign and diplomatic correspondence and as such

Foreign office.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 117.

² Minhaj, p. 185. In Firoz Tughluq's time, the *Mushrif* was the accountant, the chancellor being then known as the *sahib-i-diwan-i-insha* who had lost his cabinet rank; see Aff: *op. cit.* pp. 279 and 409.

³ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 78a, 124b; see also Barani, p. 158.

⁴ Barani, p. 158. Cf. Qureshi: *op. cit.* p. 84, who propounds a theory that this department dealt with religious affairs and was allied to the

must have been a kind of foreign office, in close touch with ambassadors and envoys sent to and received from foreign potentates¹.

Besides these principal departments, there was the *barid-i-mamalik*, chief news writer of the kingdom under whom were numerous *barids*,
 News service posted in towns, bazars and in almost every inhabited locality². They reported every important incident to the chief who communicated them to the Sultan. Besides reporting on public affairs they also spied on the conduct of the local officials. In effect, the *barid-i-mamalik's* department combined the functions of an exclusive government news organization with those of the secret intelligence service³.

Another equally important department was the *diwan-i-qaza*, (judiciary) presided over by the *sazi-i-mamalik* (chief justice of the kingdom) who sometimes also held the office of the *Sheikhul Islam*, in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs. In the latter capacity he
 Ministry of Justice. was known as the *Sadr-i-Jahan*, or *Sadrus-Sudur*, a designation which the chronicler Minhaj held on a

diwan-i-qaza, the two being usually presided over by the same person. No definite authority for this statement is however cited, nor is any available in the early chronicles. His statement that "the *Diwan-i-Rasalat* dealt with religious affairs, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety and that it was presided over by the *Sadrus-Sudur*" is based purely on supposition, for the references given do not admit of such an inference. His ingenuous explanation of why the term *rasalat* applied by the Ghaznawides to the chancellery, was, under the Memelukes, transferred to the ecclesiastical department, hence becomes pointless. The Memelukes in fact made little change in what they found of the Ghaznawide institutions in the Punjab and seem to have followed administrative traditions current in other Muslim countries of Asia. See Nazim; pp. 142-43, for a description of this department's functions under Mahmud of Ghazni.

¹ See Fakhre Mudir: *Adabul Harb*, f. 57a, for the regulations concerning the despatch of ambassadors.

² Barani, pp. 24 and 38.

³ See *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 57-58, and 65; Anfi: *Jawamiul-Hikayat*, f. 819.

number of occasions. As the king's advisor on religious affairs he controlled the educational establishments, led the Friday prayers and appointed *khatīb* and *imam* to local mosques. He was also the head of the *ih̄tib* organization and controlled the large staff of *muhtasibs*, (religious and moral censors) placed in every Muslim locality. As the head of the judiciary, the chief *qazī* was responsible for the recruitment and posting of the judicial staff and working of the judicial institutions.

Of lesser importance were the departments of inland shipping under the *amir-i-bahr*¹ and the armoury (*zarrād khana*) under the *shahmah*, (superintendent), the last being clearly affiliated to the army ministry². The treasurer (*khazīn*), must have been under the orders of the *wazīr*³.

These were the normal institutions of the central government and their working was little affected by political changes. These changes, in so far as they influenced governmental policy, were caused not so much by successions on the throne as by the holding of certain posts in the royal household. As in all despotically ruled states, the king's household was the pivot on which the entire administration turned and functionaries in that household naturally enjoyed great power. One such officer under the Memelukes was the *amir-i-hajīb*, also called *malikūl-hujjab* and *sharifūl hujjab*⁴, the master of ceremonies. He enforced the court etiquette and acted as the intermediary through whom the Sultan communicated with his officials and the people; no one could gain access to the king without his permission. He

Household
dignitaries

¹ Minhaj, p. 258.

² *Ibid*, p. 254. In Barani's time it was known as the *Salakhkhana* and the officer, called *Sar-i-Salahdar*, had a rank in the army; Barani, p. 24.

³ Minhaj, p. 249.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 294; Barani, p. 527-28.

was assisted by a large number of *hajibs* or ushers who accompanied the king; his personal *attaché* was called the *khas hajib*. The chief was assisted by a *naib* who was also a high noble. In Barani's time the *amir-i-hajib* seems to have been better known as *barbak*¹.

Placed as the *amir-i-hajib* was near the Sultan's person, he could wield dictatorial powers specially when the king was weak or young; significantly enough, we

The *amir-i-hajib*, do not hear much about the *hajib*

and his actions under Aibak, Iltutmish or Balban. The office therefore was the bone of contention between rival factions of courtiers; and a change of government, consequent upon a new faction coming to power, meant changing the incumbents in such offices as that of the *amir-i-hajib*. On Balban's dismissal in 1253, his brother Kashli Khan was also made to relinquish the *hajib's* post; Raziah's *hajib*, Aetigin, by virtue of his position, took the main part in the conspiracy that led to her downfall. Bahram's *hajib*, Badruddin Sunqar, was able to supersede the *wazir's* authority and even to issue orders without the king's sanction².

Of greater importance, from the point of view of administration, was the *wakil-i-dar*, another household officer. The office is first mentioned in the reign of Mahmud

The *wakil-i-dar*, when the upstart Rayhan got himself

appointed to this post, but obviously, it must have existed earlier. From Minhaj's statement that on getting the post Rayhan "took into his own hands the direction of the affairs within the hall of the pavilion of majesty"³, he would appear to be the administrative head of the king's household establishment, and as such was the successor to the Ghaznavide *sahib-i-diwan-i-wakalat*⁴. Fakhre Mudir, in outlining his duties and

¹ Barani, pp. 34, 36 and 61.

² *Ibid.*, 298; Raverty's trans. p. 827.

³ Minhaj, p. 198.

⁴ Nazim: *op. cit.* p. 147.

privileges, considers him as the functionary whom every member of the royal household and family was bound to show respect¹; the *Siyasat Namah* refers, among others, to his duty of looking after the education of the children of the royal family². The *wakil-i-dar* was thus, in fact, the king's steward, a comptroller of the royal household and so anticipated the Mughal *mir-i-saman*. Like the *amir-i-hajib*, the *wakil* also commanded great potentialities and under weak kings like Mahmud or Kaiqubad, could play the dictator. He had also a *naib*, but no smaller *wakils*³.

Another officer attached to the court was the *sar-i-jandar*. He commanded the king's body guards called *jāndars*, among whom a large group was possibly

King's guards. formed by the younger slaves of the king. The *sar-i-jandar* was a salaried

officer⁴ and a high noble. There was, it appears, more than one *sar-i-jandar* at a time, possibly in command of different groups⁵. His primary duty was to guard the king's person and the *jandar* formed an integral part of his retinue. A passage in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* seems to suggest that the *sar-i-jandar* was also entrusted with the custody, punishment and execution of prisoners of war and also of convicted criminals; Malik Aibak was offered this post by Iltutmish, but he excused himself by saying that "the Sultan... commands his slave to take an office of affliction (*musaderah*), while his humble slave is unable to practise bloodshed, torture and extortion and oppression upon Muslims and subjects⁶.

Other household dignitaries were the *amir-i-akhur* (master of horse) with his *naib*⁷, and the *shanah-i-pilan* (superintendent of the elephant)⁸. The *amir-i-shi-*

¹ *Adabul Harb*, f. 42-43.

² p. 62.

³ Barani, p. 86.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 237. His salary was under Iltutmish three lakhs 'jitals'.

⁵ See Minhaj, pp. 236 and 252.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 237.

⁷ Minhaj, p. 247.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 256-57.

kar, in charge of the king's hunting establishment, had a number of subordinates to look after the different hunting animals and birds¹. A number of other functionaries is mentioned in the chronicles, but these held minor posts, more of decorative than administrative value. These were generally given to newly purchased slaves to whom they served as training ground for offices of real responsibility².

A kind of advisory council for the Sultan was formed by the *amir-i-hajib*, his deputy, the *wazir*, the *ariz*, the *wakil-i-dar* and the *kotwal* of Delhi³. There was however no hard and fast rule as to its constitutional functions and much depended on the Sultan's whim. Non-officials also were normally consulted, who together with the officers, were known as the *Arkan-i-Daulat*; Bughra Khan was specially instructed to follow the advice of these counsellors⁴. Kiqubad was urged to refer all problems of government to his cabinet of four ministers composed of the *wazir*, the *ariz*, and the heads of the *diwan-i-insha* and *rasalat*⁵.

These offices functioned normally and their influence on the policy of state was indirect and depended mostly on personal factors; the appointment to one or other of the household offices did not necessarily imply the conferment of over riding authority. Such power was however associated with the office of the *naib-i-mamlikat*, a special post created by Turkish ingenuity. As the deputy ruler, his powers even exceeded those allow-

Extraordinary officer, the *naib-i-mamlikat*.

¹ Barani, p. 54.

² Such offices were those of the *chashnigir* (food taster), *saqi-i-khas*, (purveyor of drinks) *dawat-dar* (keeper of the writing case), *bahlah-dar* (†), etc. An *amir-i-majlis* is also mentioned in Iltutmish's reign; Minhaj, p. 238.

³ Barani, p. 36. The *kotwal's* inclusion was due to his personal qualities and as a close friend of Balban; his office presumably did not warrant his membership.

⁴ Barani, p. 81.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 153.

ed to the *wazirut-tafwiz* of al-Mawardi¹. The *naib* was even greater than the regent for, when he functioned to the admitted extent of his powers, he practically superseded the king. The *wazir* was mainly a bureaucrat and, unless specifically empowered, could have little initiative or independence in matters of policy. But the *naib* controlled all aspects of government and supplied the directive; constitutionally he was meant to exercise sovereign powers and also the prerogative. The circumstances in which the office was created prove clearly the super-legal powers that it was intended to possess. It was the work of the Turkish military oligarchy who, after Raziah's deposition, resolved to safeguard their own domination by compelling the king to abdicate his powers. Bahram was made to agree to the appointment of Aetigin as his *naib* "for at least one year" and to place him in control of the entire kingdom "by issuing an order in accordance with all this"². Aetigin's subsequent assumption of the Sultan's prerogative of the '*naubat* and the elephant' would thus appear to have been implicit in his position. After Bahram's fall, the process was repeated and Masud's *naib* wielded exactly the same powers. The personal factor, however, became active on this occasion and the powers theoretically conceded to the *naib* were overshadowed by the superior ability and cunning of Balban, the new *amir-i-hajib*. But when the latter acquired the office himself, the *naib's* powers were fully exercised and for the rest of his reign Mahmud played the role of a constitutionally powerless monarch. It is tempting to speculate whether, given the necessary dynastic and political continuity, the experiment of the *naib*

¹ See note 1, p. 221, *supra*. Cf. Qureshi, p. 77-78, who considers the *naib* as only another name for the chief *wazir*, the *wazirut-tafwiz*, but the fact is, that the *naib* functioned side by side with the *wazir* and was therefore an extra-bureaucratic officer.

² Minhaj, p. 253.

would not have resulted in the evolution, in course of time, of something like a constitutional monarchy and of a representative prime minister. The method of selecting the *wazir*, adopted by Mahmud and Masud of Ghazni¹, held out a precedent of appointing the nobles' nominees and thus giving them an indirect share in running the government. But dynastic continuity, sufficient to allow the growth of a political convention, never obtained in India. Besides, Balban, the new *naib*, himself was a monarchist to the core and his eventual accession to the throne meant a cessation of the experiment.

The *naib's* office was entirely abolished; it was made use of sometimes but it was never allowed all its recognised powers. Even the *wazir* became an unimportant

functionary under Balban who dealt
Later naibs. directly with every departmental head.

His *naib*, the *kotwal* Fakhruddin, was merely his representative, a proxy, who was left to carry on the routine administration during the king's absence on the Lakhnauti campaign². Even then, he was left with no discretionary powers for every important matter or despatch was to be sent to the Sultan for final orders³. The *naib* appointed for Kaiumars was also far from what Aetigin or Balban was to the reigning king, for he was intended to exercise powers on behalf of the king, not to supersede him⁴; it was purely a regency. It was in this capacity of a regent that the *naib* functioned in the Khalji period; as the wielder of sovereign power, to the nullification of that of the king, the officer disappeared from after Balban's accession. He was the last incumbent.

¹ On the dismissal of Ahmad b. Hasan al-Maimandi, Mahmud called for nominations from his courtiers; they submitted a list of four names out of which he appointed Hasanak; Masud also followed the same practice; see Baihaqi; *Tarikh-i-Masudi*, pp. 453-54.

² Barani, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

CHAPTER XI.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

From what has been said above in connection with the central government it will have been noticed that the Memluk state had of necessity to be a decentralised system. It was a loose structure, made up of military commands, and not all of them were set up under one single direction or within a given time. To these commands wide latitude of action had to be conceded, for it was to the single-handed initiative of men like Bakhtiyar that the Turkish state owed its territorial expansion and also preservation from the by no means passive Hindu powers. The continuity of the occupation process, spreading, as we have seen, over generations, permitted little governmental planning.

Implicit in such circumstances was, therefore, the nature of provincial administration which functioned under the Memlukes. Limited as the state's manpower

*Laissez faire in
local government.*

was, the setting up of a uniform civil administration over all parts of its dominions was out of the question.

Familiarity with the details and problems of day-to-day administration could not be expected of the newly-arrived Turks, even were such officers available in their ranks and could be spared from military work. Retention of the existing governmental machinery in the form of vassal states and the employment of non-Muslims for such essential civil work, as the assessment and collection of the land-revenue in villages directly within the military area, were thus unavoidable. Direct annexation of territories requiring large civil and mili-

tary personnel to administer them was mostly sought to be avoided. The ruling class congregated in military stations and capital cities, and non-military Muslim penetration of the rural area was extremely slow and was confined to missionaries. Except the martial classess, and that usually in course of hostilities, and a few traders, the non-Muslim population in the countryside hardly came into governmental contact with the sovereign people whose purpose of administration, in the early years at least, turned on the smooth and regular collection of the land revenue. It is to be noted however, that this character of the administration wore out as the century progressed. *Laissez faire* in local administration was one of the principles whose early abandonment featured the Khalji *regime*, which thus summed up a tendency that had been progressively making itself felt throughout the century.

A study of this earliest form of Indo-Muslim government must therefore begin with a consideration of the status and power of the vassal ruler to whom the paramount power entrusted the ordinary administration over the major part of the kingdom. Very little however can be gleaned on this point from the chronicles in which only his hostile behaviour provided an occasion for mentioning the feudatory chief. The most important condition of his vassalage was, it is certain, the undertaking to pay the tribute regularly. This tribute represented, it may be assumed, both the land-revenue and perhaps also the *jaziah*, realizable from his dominions. His sovereignty was curtailed to provide for the inclusion, in his coins, the suzerain's name, whose omission, at any rate, was considered a clear proof of the repudiation of vassalage. In the majority of cases the right of having an independent coinage appears

to have been entirely taken away, for among the 13th century coins so far discovered, not many instances are found of such a modified vassalage. The name of Iltutmish (written *Sama-sorala-deva*, i.e. Shamsuddin) is included, evidently as a suzerain, in a few coins of a Chauhana prince of Ranthambhor whose name was read by Thomas as Chaharadeva. From an inscription of another prince, Jaitra Singh, dated 1215, acknowledging the overlordship of Vallanadeva of Ranthambhor, but also mentioning Iltutmish of 'Joginipur', it seems that the suzerainty was to be acknowledged in epigraphs also. If the Assam king's offer to have the *khutba* read in his capital in the name of the Muslim conqueror Yuzbak, in 1255², can be taken as illustrating the prevailing conditions of vassalage, the vassal was also required to give this symbolic expression to Muslim suzerainty, but this would depend on the existence of a Muslim colony in the Hindu state. In the details of administration, the vassal ruler appears to have enjoyed complete independence, subject, obviously, to his obligation to respect his suzerain's edicts. The privilege of having his own modified coinage probably carried with it the right to levy customs duty on his own frontiers. Ordinarily, the vassal was his own master in the matter of assessment and collection of land-revenue, administration of justice and observance of religious practices. In the matter of revenue assessment, however, the standard set for the administered areas was expected to be followed in his dominions also, but this could hardly be a condition of vassalage. Much depended on the prestige and strength of the king whose suzerainty had, in fact, to be periodically enforced on the point of sword.

¹ For citations, see *supra* pp. 98-99.

² Minhaj, p. 264-5.

The chronicles generally use the words *iqta* and *wilayat* to indicate a division of the kingdom. The former, which means, literally, a portion, is used much more frequently, seemingly with a technical meaning, on the exact determination of which depends a clear understanding of the nature of the local administration'. The word *iqta*, meaning an administrative division, appears to have been used early in Central Asian states² from which the Turks borrowed it. It is needless to point out that Raverty's translation of the word as 'fief'—which at once suggests a feudal system in which the tenants-in-chief of the king were virtual sovereigns in their own domains—is misleading. A careful study of the chronicles will show that the so-called 'fief-holders' (*muqti*s) were subject to greater control than the term 'fief' implies. And yet considerable latitude was allowed to them in military affairs, which would be unthinkable for modern bureaucratic governors.

Towards the end of the 12th century, Nizamul-Mulk laid down the following rules for the guidance of the *muqti*³. "They (the *muqti*s) should know that their right over the subjects is only to take the rightful amount of money or perquisite (*mal-i-haqq*) in a peaceful manner....the life, property and the family of the subject should be immune from any harm, the *muqti*s

The *muqti* under the Seljuqs.

¹ Both the words are used in a synonymous sense. See Barani, p. 96. also p. 430 where Balban, in advising his son Bughra Khan, *muqti* of Lakhnauti, drew a distinction between *Iqlimdari* (kingdom) and *Wilayat-dari*, the last word having been evidently used for *muqti-ship*; see also Moreland: *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Appendix B.

² See, for example, *Siyasat Namah*, p. 28. Ibnul Asir frequently uses it in his account of the Seljuq Kingdom; X (Thornberg) pp. 178, 274; see also Ibn-Nessawi, p. 79.

³ *Siyasat Namah*, p. 37.

have no right over them; if the subject desires to make a direct appeal to the Sultan, the *muqti* should not prevent him. Every *muqti* who violates these laws should be dismissed and punished. . . . the *muqtis* and *walis* are so many superintendents over them as the king is superintendent over other *muqtis*. . . . After three or four years, the *amil*s and the *muqtis* should be transferred so that they may not be too strong." There is no mention, however, of their rights and liabilities in other matters of government such as army, revenue and justice, but there are instances in Seljuq and also in Khwarizmi history showing that the *muqti* had his own contingents equipped and maintained out of the revenue of his province, the rest of which went to the central government¹.

This system in many of its details was followed in India, where also such military governorships were fairly well-practised. The *muqti* was appointed by the

Sultan, and could be transferred and

The *muqti* in India dismissed at will. Usually he maintained a body of troops consisting of both infantry and horsemen, out of his own provincial revenues, and was responsible not only for the defence of his province, but also for the maintenance of law and order. His troops could be requisitioned by the central government. Although it is not recorded that he, as a rule, despatched the surplus revenue of his province after deducting the expenses of the army and the administration, yet instances are not rare to warrant such a supposition. The *muqti* of Lahore and Multan was directed by Muizzuddin in 501/1204 A.D. to despatch the arrears of revenue to enable him to make prepara-

¹ Ibnul Asir (Cairo), X, pp. 127, 152, 176, 192: also Gibb, *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p. 34.

tions for his campaign in 'Transoxiana'. According to Barani, Prince Muhammadi, Balban's eldest son and viceroy of Sind, used to bring the revenue of his province personally to his father every year². If we may take instances from the Khalji and Tughlaq period we may cite the instance of Alauddin, the *muqti* of Karra and Awadh, who asked Firoz Khalji for permission to utilise the surplus revenue (*farwazil*) of his province in purchasing horses and employing troops for an advance on Chanderi³. That the *muqti* or *wali* was responsible for the accounts of his provincial revenue to the Finance Ministry (*diwan-i-wazarat*) seems clear from the order of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq to his newly appointed officers: "If you desire that you may not be taken to task by the *diwan-i-wazarat* . . . you should not be avaricious; take little from the *iqta* and with this defray your expenses and pay your troops, and do not take a single farthing from the pay of the troops". A close audit of the account of the *muqti* is also implied in the following passage: "Those (*muqtis*) who embezzle the money and tamper with the accounts and exact more than the specified share from the *iqta*, would be punished with chains and imprisonment"⁴.

Although there is no record of the amount of his remuneration or salary (*marwajib*) as such, he must have had a definite share out of the revenues. The fact that in several instances⁵ the *muqti* attempted to extend his province not only by conquering Hindu territories, but also by annexing part or whole of other adjacent *iqtas*, and thus increasing his income, suggests that his salary was probably

¹ Alf, f. 497 b. Also *Jamiut-twarikh*, quoted by Raverty, *trans. Tab. Nas*, p. 482, note.

² Barani, p. 59; see also pp. 108-9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 220-21.

⁵ E.g. *ibid.*, pp. 269, 177.

fixed in proportion to the entire revenue¹. Except as a punishment, as in the case of Kabir Khan who was recalled from Multan by Iltutmish and placed in charge of the small *iqta* of Pulwal², or in the case of Kashlu Khan, who, on Balban's dismissal from the court in 651/1253 A.D., was transferred from his extensive *iqta* of Nagaur to Karra³, no *muqti* appears to have been transferred from a larger to a smaller *iqta*. It is important to note that, although the *muqti* was assigned a fixed share in the revenue, his financial position was different from that of the assignee (*iqtadar*) who had no financial liability to the central exchequer. This is clear from the position of the two thousand Shamsi *iqtadars* who were assigned the revenue of the villages as their pay for personal service in the army⁴. To this category also belonged the *iqta* of Bakhtiyar granted to him by the *muqti* of Awadh⁵. Other assignments for services of a non-military character were those made to the *qazis* of the realm as well as to the *amir-i-dad* of the city.

Mention has been made of the *muqti's* responsibilities for the civil and military administration of the province. As the conquest was in the nature of a military occupation, the maintenance and command of the provincial troops was the primary

Duties.

¹ What this proportion was, it is impossible to ascertain. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, early in the 14th century, asked his revenue minister not to punish the "*maliks* and *amirs*" if they appropriated "half-tenth or half-eleventh and one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the revenue of the *iqta* or *wilayat*," besides the customary perquisites of the office; Barani, p. 431. The wording here indicates that while the perquisite—whatever its value may have been—was his usual remuneration, the Tughluq king was prepared to allow the *muqti* an extra percentage at the rate mentioned. Perhaps it was a revival of an earlier practice, suspended by the Khalji centralization. Ibn Battuta observes that Muhammad b. Tughluq's governors receive 1/20 off the revenue as commission. *Rahlah*, Def. et Sang. III, p. 117.

² Minhaj, p. 234.

³ *Ibid*, p. 270.

⁴ Barani, p. 61-63. This was their *mawajib*. Cf. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 27.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 147; the *muqti* of Budaun had previously paid him in cash.

duty of the *muqti*. He enjoyed considerable freedom of action in the matter of fighting against the Hindus and also against foreign invaders. He was expected to join the royal forces with his contingents whenever required to do so, and failure was considered an act of rebellion. Although every *muqti* was liable to military service, only those in the neighbourhood of Delhi were generally ordered to be present.

From a passage in Barani, the Tughluq central government appears to have fixed the strength, pay, and equipment of the provincial army, which the *muqti* was not allowed to alter¹; but Provincial army it is doubtful if this was a continuation of the earlier system. For the 13th century autonomy would hardly square with this limitation on his action. Before Alauddin's centralization, no such detailed interference with his army administration was in evidence. Balban instructed Bughra Khan, the *muqti* of Samana and Sunam, to double the existing number of the provincial force by new recruitment and also to raise their pay². He also impressed on him the necessity of keeping himself informed about every detail of his military affairs. "Consider no expense for the army as too much and let your muster-master (*ariz*) engage himself always in maintaining the old and recruiting new troops and keeping himself informed about every expenditure in his department³". The strength of the provincial contingent is nowhere indicated but it must have varied according to the revenue of the province. The *muqti* also had his *muster-master*

¹ Barani, p. 431.

² Barani, p. 80.

³ *Ibid*, p. 101-2.

(*ariz*) who was represented at the central government by his *naib*¹.

It does not appear that the judicial organisation of the province was under his control, or that he had any judicial function to perform. Apart from his general

Revenue. duties of maintaining law and order. which incidentally, was ordinarily

limited to the chief cities and fortresses, and could be performed by the *kotwal* appointed by him, his duties were confined, besides what has been described above, to the raising of the king's share of the revenue from the peasants, and the Hindu chiefs. We have little information respecting the existence of Muslim peasants at this period, but in the cities there were owners of land who were liable to the payment of *kharaaj*. Hindus formed the bulk of the peasantry and in most of the provinces they paid the revenue through their village headmen, called *muqaddam* and *chaudhuri*². Some of the tributary Hindu chiefs were under the *muqti* while others paid directly to the *diwan-i-razarat*.

The *muqti* was generally a resident in the province but in some cases, particularly in provinces nearer the capital, there were absentee governors who ruled through

Deputy Governors. deputies (*naibs*), sometimes appointed by the central government³. Hindu

Khan ruled Uch through his *naib* after he returned to court in the reign of Bahram⁴; Balban, who held the office of *amir-i-hajib* and later, that of the *naib-i-mamlikat*, which required his constant presence at the court, must have administered his *iqta* of Hansi and Siwalikh through such a deputy. At his dismissal in 1253

¹ Barani, p. 116.

² Barani, p. 106.

³ E.g. the *naib* of Kanouj was appointed by Iltutmish; Barani, p. 33.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 399.

Hansi was placed in charge of the infant son of Mahmud¹ and in this case a *naib* was clearly a necessity. In larger provinces, the *muqti* himself appointed his deputy over important cities and outpost. Probably to this class of deputy governorship should belong the *iqtas* of Narangoi held by Ali Mardan, and Ganguri held by Husamuddin Iwaz in Bengal². The *muqti* obviously had power to assign land to his officers as in the case of Bakhtiyar who received a military *iqta* from the governor of Awadh. Balban advised Bughra Khan to give *iqtas* to trusted and loyal officers. That the *muqti* could also make free grant of land like the Sultan, is proved by Minhaj receiving villages from Balban which produced an income of "thirty thousand *jitals*"³.

There is little detailed information as to the *muqti's* subordinate staff, but since he was a miniature king, the reproduction of the Sultan's main departments in his province may perhaps be presumed.

Muqti's staff.

At the head of his secretariat stood the *dabir*; he had also a confidential adviser⁴. It does not appear that he had any prime minister or *wazir*, so called; Ainul Mulk Ashari, who is said to have been detailed as *wazir* to prince Firoz on his appointment to Budaun, was most probably only a tutor or guardian (*atabek*)⁵. Lesser officers, described as *mutasarrif*, *karkun* and *amil*, formed his administrative and fiscal staff⁶, controlled by his own revenue department over which the central *diwan-i-wazarat* could, at

¹ *Ibid*, p. 217.

² *Ibid*, p. 157-58.

³ Minhaj, pp. 214 and 295.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 243; he was actually called *kathkuda*; see also *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, f. 106 b.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 174.

⁶ For the mention of a *mushrif* under the *muqti* of Kol. see *Fawadul Fawaid*, ff. 56-5. The salary of these subordinate officers was paid in cash but those attached to the revenue work appear to have been allowed a commission of 1/2 or 1 p.c. of the collected revenue; Barani, p. 430.

best, claim only auditing authority. The incident recorded by Barani of Iltutmish once appointing, on the *wazir's* recommendation, the clerk (*khwaja*) of the *iqta* of Kanouj, only illustrates a tendency rather than normal practice¹. Over the judiciary and the *barid* organization in the province the *muqti*, however, had little control.

Extensive as the *iqta* system was, it was by no means exclusive. We hear occasionally of *Khalisah* areas, comprising cities and districts, which were governed by *amir* or *shahnah* instead of the *muqti*.

Khalisah.

Latterly, the term came to have a purely fiscal connotation, but in the 13th century its administrative organization also was different. Raverty translated the term as 'crown-land' but Moreland, more correctly, rendered it as 'reserve area', in which no assignment was given, the *kharaaj* being collected directly by the central revenue ministry². Such an area was Bhatinda in the first half of the century when it was in charge of a *shahnah*³. Since the revenue was collected by the king's fiscal staff and was all credited to the central exchequer, the superintendent was most probably remunerated by a fixed salary. Under the same system was the territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi, the area described as the *hawali-i-Dchli* and also known as Harianah⁴, for it does not appear as part of any *iqta*. Its administrative officer is nowhere mentioned, but the *diwan-i-wazarat* directly supervised the fiscal staff. Bhatinda was later converted into an ordinary *iqta*⁵.

¹ Barani, p. 36. Balban also is reported to have appointed the *mutasarriif* of Amroha, *ibid.*, f. 38.

² Moreland: *op. cit.* p. 29.

³ Minhaj, pp. 188, 250, 251.

⁴ See Moreland: *op. cit.* p. 23, for its approximate boundary. For Harianah, see *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 38.

⁵ Minhaj, p. 277.

Different from the *iqta* organization was also the newly conquered areas and fortresses. Gwalior was always under an *amir*, evidently a military officer¹.

Military districts. The case of Karra on the Ganges near Allahabad, may be cited as an example

of a military division being eventually converted into a civil administrative unit. During Iltutmish's reign it formed the military charge of an *amir*, but by the time of Mahmud, it had attained the status of an ordinary *iqta*².

The chronicles mention no smaller administrative unit below the *iqta* as comprising rural areas. Barani occasionally mentions *parganahs* and *faujdar*s, but no adequate evidence is forthcoming to enable

Smaller divisions. us to consider these as representing

subdivisional organizations. Early in the next century, we hear of the *shiqq* and the *sadi* but to ascribe them inferentially to the Memeluke governmental arrangement would require more contemporary evidence than is at present available.

¹ Iltutmish's first appointment was as the *amir* of Gwalior; Minhaj, p. 169. Among the officers appointed there on its reconquest in 1231, there is no *muqti* mentioned, but only the *amir-i-dad*, *kotwal* and the *qasi*; *ibid.*, p. 175. Malik Tyasai, when he held charge of the fortress, was called *shahnah* and not *muqti*; *ibid.*, p. 240.

² Minhaj, p. 177 and 217, also see Raverty's note, p. 626.

CHAPTER XII

THE FIGHTING FORCES

Contemporary writers lay great emphasis on the need for maintaining a strong and efficient army, for a state can never function without a coercive instrument¹. Originally, the army was, perhaps, composed of every able-bodied man who immigrated to India, but there soon grew up the idea of a division of labour. As the conquerors gradually assumed the duties of civil government, a functional division of society took place and fighting became more or less a profession. While potentially all Muslims were members of the state's fighting forces, normally, professional soldiers in the state's employ manned the army. These seem to have consisted of four classes: (i) the regular soldiers under the Sultan's direct control and in permanent employment; (ii) the troops permanently maintained by the provincial governors on the same footing as those of the king; (iii) special recruits in times of war and expeditions, and (iv) volunteers, ordinarily Muslims, who were expected to bear their own arms and enrol, for no pay but a share in the booty, for participating in what was called a *jihad*.

Although no direct reference is found to the existence, under the king's direct control, of what may be called a standing army, sufficient indications are yet found to warrant the inference that the
King's army. central government did possess a body

¹ See Bughra Khan's advice to Kaiqubad; Barani, p. 102. Fakhre Mudir: *Adabul Harb* f. 79a.

of regular troops¹. We however, know very little about its character and composition. The king's bodyguards, the *jandars*, it may be assumed, must have formed its nucleus. These *jandars* not only acted as a police force, in so far as the maintenance of order around the person and for that matter, the court and the palace of the king was concerned, but also joined in battles. They were largely drawn from the king's personal slaves, though their leader, the *sar-i-jandar*, was usually, a free-born noble². Their number naturally depended on the will of the ruler, but it must have been fairly strong; the Muizzi and Qutbi *jandars* gave no inconsiderable trouble to Iltutmish when he assumed the crown at Delhi. Minhaj seems to designate the standing army as the *hashm-i-qalb*, or *qalb-i-sultani*³; the *jandars* would obviously form a brigade of the centre army⁴, which appears to have been always stationed at Delhi. In Mahmud's reign, this force was

¹ See Minhaj, p. 113; Fakhre Mudir; *Tarikh*, p. 33.

² Muizzuddin of Ghor, was himself a *Sar-i-Jandar* to his brother Ghiyusuddin; Minhaj, p. 115.

³ Cf. Raverty's note on p. 634 35 of his translation of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, wherein he contends that "this centre was not the centre division of a *corps d'armee* under the regular military organization stationed at Delhi, but refers to the contingents which formed the centre of the Delhi forces when in the field; these contingents were furnished by numerous feudatories... whose fiefs lay in the immediate vicinity of the capital and whose contingents could be summoned to the King's standard at a very short notice". This conclusion appears untenable in view of the fact, that the *qalb* is always found associated with the Sultan and Delhi and that whenever any provincial contingent from far or near was required to join, it is usually mentioned in the account. That the *qalb* should not be identified with the provincial contingents is clearly proved by the fact that when confronting the rebel Kashlu Khan in 1256, Balban kept his own troops and those of Sher Khan, the Governor of Bhatinda, separate from the *qalb-i-sultani* and other troops from the capital over whom he placed Kashli Khan; Minhaj p. 308. It is inconceivable that in normal times the king was left with no troops at all. In the same year when Delhi was besieged by Kashlu and Qutluq Khan, the citizens prepared for defence since "the royal troops were absent from the city"; *ibid*, p. 224. Barani, p. 83, also mentions the *hashm-i-qalb* whom Balban took with him in his expedition against the Kacherryasi; the *hashm-i-haerat*, mentioned on p. 115, also seems to refer to the same force.

⁴ The personal slaves of Buknuddin Firoz, *bandegan-i-khas*, are said in have been serving in the *qalb* when they deserted him and murdered his attendants: Minhaj, p. 183.

occasionally brought out of the city for military exercise and parade¹. Whether the garrisons, placed in important fortresses or localities near the capital, also were drawn from this centre army or from the province in which they were situated is a moot point². This army, along with the *jandars*, was directly under the management of the *ariz-i-mamalik* who was responsible for its recruitment, efficiency and payment. Its numerical strength is unascertainable; it contained both cavalry and infantry and the two thousand Shamsi *iqtdars* certainly formed part of its cavalry section³.

The provincial troops, being maintained out of the public revenues was technically a part of the standing army, but in a decentralised state like that of the Memelukes, authority over them was necessarily limited. In practice, the provincial force was the *muqti's* own; details of its maintenance was his own concern and the *ariz-mamalik* could exercise little interference. The latter's jurisdiction over them commenced only when the specified quota was called up from the province; he was then to hold a review of the contingents sent, check their number and equipment by comparing the muster roll of the respective province and to call for explanations for any discrepancy, from the representative of the *muqti's* army department. The provincial troops were presumably listed in the *ariz-i-mamalik's* army list, but the period covered by the Memeluke Sultanate affords no instance of the central government's attempt to regulate its number, rate of pay or other incidence of its employment and control. Nor is there any concrete

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

² Qureshi; *op. cit.*, p. 133, however, implies that the garrison, kept in the provinces, formed part of the central army; he calls this latter *haskm-i-atraf*, on which authority, is not mentioned.

³ Barani, p. 64.

evidence, as in the reign of Sher Shah Sur, of periodical transfer of troops from one province to another.

From the few recored instances, the provincial army however, seems to have been modelled organizationally on the king's regular troops. It also consisted of a permanent centre corps and also of temporary recruits¹. The *muqti's ariz* looked after its maintenance and pay and through the representative stationed at the capital, (the *naib-i-ariz*), presented the contingents². The permanently employed troops at the centre and in the provinces were probably known as the *wajhi*, (regulars) a term which, in any case is applied to them during the 'Tughluq period'.

Reference to special recruits for temporary work is not frequent, but recorded instances imply that such enrolment was an established practice. In 1241, when the Mongols besieged Lāhore, the *sadrus sudur*, Minhaj-i-Siraj, was directed by the king to deliver an exhortation urging the people to enrol in the army for fighting the infields³. In 1258 again, he delivered a similar lecture "with the object of stimulating to holy warfare and the merit of fighting against he infields"⁴. It is perhaps safe to guess that such recruitments were confined to Muslims only. Even for expeditions against powerful rebels, such emergency recruitments were resorted to. On his way to Lakhnauti, Balban held a *levée en masse* in Awadh and enrolled, it is said, about two hundred thousand men in archers, carriers, and also horsemen and infantry. In this case, it is reasonable

¹ See Minhaj, p. 257. An indication of the numerical strength of the provincial troops can probably be had from Barani's statement that Malik Baqbaq, the Muqti of Budaon, possessed four thousand horsemen in his "jagir" p. 40.

² Barani, p. 116; see also p. 239.40, *supra*.

³ See for example Afif, pp. 296, 369-70.

⁴ Minhaj, p. 195.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 310.

to assume, that not all of this two hundred thousand men was meant for combatant work and that a proportion, doubtless, came from the non-Muslims. The employment of Hindu mercenaries for special campaigns should also be considered in this connection; Raziah, when she marched with her husband Iltunjah to recover the throne, is reported to have headed an army composed mainly of mercenaries from the Khokar and Jat tribes of the Punjab.

Our information is much too little as to the existence of a reserve volunteer militia. Fakhre Mudir, writing early in the reign of Iltutmish, describes a military review and mentions a body of infantry
 Volunteer militia. "who have voluntarily joined the forces and who should present themselves individually to the *ariz* and be enrolled in a separate list in charge of the *naqib* (trumpeter)"¹. Barani also mentions a class of soldiers who supplied their own arms and horse and joined the regular army². In 1259, when Hulaku's envoys were received in Delhi, the royal army, including the contingents from the provinces, numbering about two hundred thousand infantry and fifty thousand horsemen, was, for the purpose of military display, supplemented by a huge number of volunteers from among the citizens who appeared in their own arms and horses and were drawn up alongside the regulars.³

There never was any permanent commander-in-chief in peace time; the Sultan was the supreme commander of the defence forces. The *ariz*, both of the centre and of the province, performed, it must be supposed, the duties of a modern war office; promotions, training and discipline were also his routine function⁴. In the

No permanent
 army commander.

¹ *Adabul Harb*, f. 109b.

² p. 86.

³ *Minhaj*, p. 317.

⁴ See *Adabul Harb*, p. 46-47 for regulations concerning the maintenances of discipline among the soldiers.

provinces, the *muqti* would be the chief of staff, though Barani suggests that the *ariz* even selected the troops for campaigns¹. Only once, in the reign of Raziah, we hear of the appointment of a *naib-i-lashkar*, placed presumably over the central standing army, to whom the queen delegated her command of the fighting forces². The office obviously was a temporary one, and is not heard of again after her deposition. The Sultans usually led the expeditions in person though the conduct of operations was left to specially commissioned officers.

With the exception of the volunteer militia, the soldiers received fixed remuneration either in cash, called *mawajib*, or in assignments, called *iqta*. The standing

army of the centre, at least an important section of it, was paid in assign-

ments, as is evidenced by the case of the Shamsi *iqtadars* who had been given villages in the Doab. Captains and even petty officers were also paid in similar assignments of revenue³. The income in such assignments (*iqta*) came from the land revenue realised from the peasant-cultivators. An instance of paying troops even in cultivable lands is furnished by Balban who settled Afghan soldiers as garrison in Gopalgir, Kampil, Patiali, Bhojpur and Jalali⁴. They drew their sustenance from the lands which they were to till and cultivate. From the nature of conditions involved in such form of payment these men were supposedly borne on the army list as hereditary soldiers. The bulk of the regular troops, however, was paid in cash from the *diwan-i-arz*; irregular and mercenary soldiers, it must be supposed, were always paid in cash. It is difficult to ascertain whether individual payment was the rule; the anxiety of Imadul

¹ p. 60-61.

² Barani, p. 80.

³ Minhaj, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57-58.

Mulk to see that no deductions were made from the soldier's pay by his office staff would presuppose that individual cash payment was the normal practice, at least in the case of the central army. But since recruitment does not appear to have been made singly but through the troop-leaders, it is doubtful if direct payment of salary was always practicable or desired. Alauddin Khalji's branding regulations (*dagh* and *huliyah*), in any case, were designed to diminish the chances of fraud practised by the troop-leaders and even *muqtis* in drawing the soldiers' pay under false representations. Out of his *marwajib*, the cavalryman was to provide for his own equipment and horse and keep the latter in good trim. Approval of his horse and arm was necessary before his pay could be drawn. Besides his *marwajib*, each trooper received a share of the booty (*ghanimah*) captured in the battle in which he participated; this was probably considered a war-bonus.

Instances from the Memeluke period throw insufficient light on the army division and their composition. Barani mentions *amirs* in command of fifty, hundred and thousand soldiers (*amir-i-panjah*, *sadah*, and *hazarah*)¹. Amir Khusrau, describing Kaiqubad's retinue during his journey to meet his father, implies that a *malik* commanded something like twenty thousand soldiers². If Bughra Khan's description of the Turkish hierarchy can be taken as applying to the army groupings as practised in his time in India, it would suggest a unit of ten under a *sar-i-khail* rising by decimal progressions through the divisions of *sipahsalar*, *amir* and *malik* to the supreme command of a *khan*³. This would not be far from what we hear

¹ Pp. 35, and 495.

² *Qiranus-Sadain*, p. 40.

³ Barani, p. 145.

of the army groupings in the time of Muhammad b. Tughluq¹.

The *Adabul Harb* gives a description of the battle array; on two sides of the *qalb* or *muqaddam* (van-guard) were drawn up the *maisara* (left wing) and the *maimana* (right wing), while a picked body of troops formed the *khalf* or rear, to be thrown in battle later, and only as a tactical move or as a last resort². A special corps, called *sariya*, (Minhaj seems to refer to it under the name of *tilaya*³) is also mentioned as being composed of four hundred light cavalry, commanded by an *amir*. It was employed for work requiring swift movements and for reconnoissance⁴.

¹ Qalqashandi: *Subhul Asha*, V, pp. 91-92; also Elliot; III, p. 576.

² f. 113-14; it gives an interesting reproduction of the dispositions of Hindu and Muslim battle-forces. See also Minhaj, p. 120.

³ P, 288.

⁴ *Adabul Harb*, f. 116b.

CHAPTER XIII

LAW AND THE JUDICIARY

Administration of justice is one of the king's primary functions. The chroniclers deal at great length with the Sultān's responsibilities for upholding and maintaining

The Law. the *Shariah*¹, which was the basic law in a Muslim-ruled country. But it is obvious that the non-Muslim, living in the cōuntry, could not be subjected, at least in their social relations, to the Canon law. Jurists have accordingly recognised a practical distinction between what they call *tashrii* and *ghair tashrii* law². There could be little doubt that the Muslims in their social and personal affairs were guided exclusively by the *tashrii* law, but we know practically nothing about the law which was applied to the non-Muslim *zimmi*s. In such matters as inheritance, sale or transfer of land, marriage etc., presumably the customary law was followed, embodying, as it did, the principles of the local, tribal or the sacred Hindu code³. The principle followed by the Delhi Sultanate, at any rate, was minimum interference with the social affairs of the *zimmi*. In matrimonial cases for instance, the jurisdiction of the Muslim *qazi* was to be exercised only when the parties asked for it; and even then, he was to recognise

¹ Barani, p. 43, 81-83; *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, f. 11a.

² Baillie; *Digest of Muhammedan law*, p. 174.

³ Cf. Hussain: *Administration of Justice in Muslim India*, p. 15, who suggests, on no specified authority, that Pundits and Brahmins assisted the *qazi* in deciding cases involving Hindu personal law. See also Ahmad: *Administration of Justice*, p. 115.

such practices as are regarded valid in the party's religion¹. In crimes which constitute offence in every law and where ethics was the sole determinant, the *zimmi* probably stood in the same footing as the Muslim², though it is doubtful if the Muslim penal law was applied with the same rigour and exactitude as is enjoined by the *faqih*.

The question is, however, purely speculative so far as our period is concerned, for the conquest was not so thorough as to affect the social system of the native people. Numerous Hindu chiefs were allowed to retain their principalities where established legal practice was little disturbed. In the districts directly under Muslim administration, the Hindus lived in villages and came in little contact with the application of Muslim law. The ancient system of local government was hardly touched by the conquest and the village or caste *panchayat* was left to carry on its traditional functions so long as they did not clash with the *qazi's* jurisdiction³. In crimes occurring within the village, the headman (*muqaddam*) acted both as the committing and trying magistrate. A hint to the appointment of Hindu officers, presumably for administering justice and maintaining order among the natives, is contained in a passage of the *Tajul Maasir*, where, in describing Aibak's conquest and settlement of Asni in 1193, Hasan Nizami refers to his posting of "*Ranahs*" in every side for the administration of the people and the territory⁴. To leave the newly conquered territory for the time being under native officers and to recognise the established customs

¹ Baillie: *op. cit.* p. 178-79.

² Rahim, *Muhammedan Jurisprudence*, p. 59.

³ The *Hanafi* school of law recognises such non-Muslim judges to try cases among the *zimmi's*, though the government is not held bound to enforce their decisions. See al-Mawardi: *op. cit.* p. 62.

⁴ f. 125b.

was the natural course to adopt, and was even resorted to by the Arabs in Sind¹. Barani mentions a body of conventional and customary law, which he calls *zabitah*, followed by the government in dealing with the Hindu subjects².

A Muslim king is not only expected to provide for the dispensation of justice but also to hear and decide cases himself³. The king therefore tried both original and appeal cases, for he was the highest court of justice⁴. In cases arising out of the violation or application of the religious side of the *Shariah*, he was assisted by the *mufti* and the *sadrus-sudur* while in cases of a secular nature he sat with the *qaziul-quzat* (chief justice). He also held summary trial of criminal offences⁵.

Unlike other branches of government, the judiciary from the very beginning appears to have been a centralised department. The Sultan himself appointed *qazis* to different provinces and localities, doubtless on the recommendation of the *qaziul-quzat*⁶. He is also known to have controlled the appointment of the *amir-i-dad* of the principal cities and also to have issued order for their dismissal and transfer⁷. The *muqti* was expected to enforce the *qazi's* decision when necessary⁸.

Below the king, the *qaziul-quzat* was the highest judicial officer. He lived at the capital and decided

The Judiciary,
a centralised
organization.

¹ See *Chachnama*: Elliot, I, pp. 160, 162-165.

² *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 126a.

³ *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 11 and 40.

⁴ Barani, p. 40, mentions Balban's practice of hearing and deciding cases himself.

⁵ See *Siarul Arafin*, f. 189b, for a case of this nature tried by Iltutmish with the assistance of the ecclesiastics. See also Barani, p. 40-41.

⁶ *Minhaj*, p. 175.

⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 218, 214, and 176. See *Zikr-i-jami-Aulia-i-Delhi*, f. 198b, for an instance of the Sultan even appointing the *qazi* of an obscure little town named Kathi-wala, near Mukhan.

⁸ See *Siyasat Namah*, p. 38, for the relation of the *qazi* with the local governor.

cases in collaboration with the *amir-i-dad*. Minhaj-i-Siraj

The chief *qazi*.

who held the office on three occasions, was also the head of the ecclesiastical department and was generally known by this latter office namely, the *sadr-i-jahan*¹, which seems to have always been held thereafter by the *qaziul-quzat*². The two offices, however, were kept separate, and Minhaj always mentions them separately³. The *qaziul-quzat* only supervised and controlled the lower judges in the provinces and also heard appeals; as an appellate judge he probably sat with the king. No detail of any case decided by him has however come down to us; it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that he was assisted by a *mufti* (legal interpreter). A later account ascribes to Minhaj the legalisation of *Sima* (religious music) to which objection was raised by the orthodox *ulema*⁴. This, however, must have been done in his capacity as the *sadrus-sudur*. If we could argue back from the instances of Khalji and Tughluq periods⁵, the chief *qazi* would also appear to be the Sultan's legal advisor in all matters of the *Shariah*, both religious and secular. In addition to the post of the *qaziul-quzat* and the *sadrus-sudur*, Minhaj also held the post of chief *khatib* and was for sometime, the *qazi* of Gwalior⁶.

Among judicial officers in a large city like Delhi, besides a number of *qazis* dealing with cases coming under the purview of the *tashii law*, we hear also of the

¹ Minhaj, p. 219.

² See Barani's list of the grandees of the realm before the account of every Sultan.

³ E.g. pp. 195, 215, 220.

⁴ Abdul Huqq: *Akhbarul Akhbar*, Or, 221, f. 37a.

⁵ Barani, p. 298, for Alauddin's asking for the opinion of *qazi* Mughisuddin respecting his governmental measures. See also Aif, p. 129, for a similar question by Firoz Tughluq to the *qazi* respecting his right to levy a water tax.

⁶ Minhaj, pp. 193 and 223.

Criminal Courts;
the *amir-i-dad*.

amir-i-dad, laterly known as *dadbak*. He, it seems, was the chief city magistrate, for his designation suggests his association with the detection and redress of crimes. He apprehended criminals and also tried cases with the assistance of the *gazi*. His court, called the *masnad-i mazalim wa adl*¹, closely corresponds to the *diwan-i mazalim* of the Abbaside government of Bagdad and also, in some respects, to the *wilayatul-mazalim* of al-Mawardi². The latter assigns to him such functions as checking the arbitrary exaction of taxes, supervising and controlling the *amins* (officer in charge of surveying and keeping a register of Muslim property). He was also to see that the head of every department dealt fairly and uninterferingly with the employees. It is not certain if the *amir-i-dad* of Delhi also performed these functions. Minhaj has the following statement to make respecting the *amir-i-dad* with whom he worked for several years. "It must be about eighteen years since the *masnad-i-mazalim wa adl* has been adorned by his (Saifuddin Ajami) dignity, and during the whole period he has followed the path of justice and equity and has been obedient to the *Shariah*. The writer of this work, upon two occasions, for nearly eight years, is seated on the same bench with that just *malik*...in the capital city; and the author has seen that the whole of his acts, procedure and expositions have been conformable with faith and *sunnah*. By the dignity of his punishment and the majesty of his justice, the multitude of contumacious persons round about the capital and the gangs of evil doers and robbers, having drawn back the hand of violence...are quiescent in the court of fear and

¹ *Ibid*, p. 275.

² *Ahkamus-Sultaniyah*, p. 76. See also *Siyasat Nama*, pp. 28-30 where similar duties are prescribed for the *gazi*.

terror". The *amir-i-dad* would thus appear to be a judge of criminal cases and also charged with punishing convicted criminals. His was also possibly a tribunal for trying officers accused of oppression and malpractices. He also enforced the *qazi's* decisions and helped the *muhtasib* in applying his regulations². The *amir-i-dad* had his provincial representations and as their head was called the *amir-i-dad-i-mamalik*³. He had also an assistant, called *naib-i-dadbak*⁴.

In towns, the police work was the responsibility of the *kotwal* who maintained law and order and even helped in military defence. Originally he was a military officer, the commandant of the fortified town, but with the expansion of civil administration he gradually became mainly a police officer. He had undoubtedly a police force under him but we do not hear of anything like the *Shurta* of the Abbasides; whether the city constables were called *guzarban* as in the Mughal period, the chronicle gives us no indication. Another officer, doing something of the police work by supervising the markets, checking dishonest dealings and enforcing price regulations and punishing hoarders and profiteers, was called the *rais-i-bazar*⁵. His duties would require the assistance of a staff to go round the markets and inflict summary punishment. An important officer having also something to do with the enforcement of law and order was the *muhtasib*⁶. He was primarily a member of the judicial staff and acted as a kind of prosecutor in offences against religious law. But he

¹ Minhaj, p. 275; Raverty's translation, p. 789.
² Qureshi: *op. cit.* p. 183, citing Fakhre Mudir's *Adabul Harb*, states that the *amir-i-dad* also controlled the *kotwal* and the *muhtasib*. The chronicles at least do not contain this suggestion.

³ *Tafsil Maasir*, f. 67b, and 178b; Minhaj, pp. 175, 276.

⁴ Barani, p. 24.

⁵ *Adabul Harb*, f. 47a; Barani, p. 34.

⁶ Barani, p. 78.

was also to supervise the markets, check weights and measures and punish adulteration of foodstuffs and the sale of wine. Writers of legal treatises ascribe to him duties corresponding to those of a modern inspector of educational institutions and also such municipal work as sanitation and maintenance of roads¹. He was empowered to inflict summary punishment with the help of his subordinate staff². He was, however, no judge, and cases requiring exposition of law or the ascertainment of fact had to be taken to the *qazi*. The *muhtasib's* was a separate organization, though allied to that of the *qaziul-quzat* who almost invariably was also the chief *muhtasib*. From Firoz Tughluq's reference to a tax called *ihtisabi*, the officer seems to have been entitled to a fee which probably went to pay for his remuneration³.

A separate judicial organization existed for the army. In military camps a *qazi-i-lashkar* was appointed who possibly administered some sort of martial law. This

Military courts. office had become very important in

Barani's time and only able and honest men, well versed in the *Shariah* were appointed to it⁴. In the Khalji period the *amir-i-dad* was also a member of the military court⁵; this was perhaps a normal practice.

The members of the judicial services all received remuneration. The payment however, seems to have been made, at least in the case of the higher officers, not in

Payments. cash but in revenue assignment⁶. From Minhaj's account of the *amir-i-dad*,

¹ The *muhtasib's* multifarious duties, municipal, religious and police, are clearly set forth in Ibnul Ukhuna: *Maalimul Qurba fi Ahkamul Hisba*, an 11th century treatise, edited with an abridged translation, by Levy. E. G. W. Gibb Memorial Volumes, London, 1938.

² *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 8; See also *Siyasat Namah*, p. 41-42.

³ See Qureshi: *op. cit.* p. 229.

⁴ Barani, p. 47; see also p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 358, 361.

⁶ In the Tughluq period, the judges all appear as a salaried staff, but

Saifuddin Ajami, quoted above, it appears that the revenue of some specified *iqtas* was permanently attached to this office. Such *iqtas* however were changed from time to time; Saifuddin was allowed the revenue in succession, of Pulwal, Kamah, Baran, Kasrak (?) and again of Baran, in Mahmud's reign¹. It is probable that the *qaziul-quzat* was also paid in this manner.

Minhaj has an interesting passage which throws some light on the court procedure. Speaking about Saifuddin he remarks. "During this period since he has been

the *amir-i-dad* of the kingdom of Delhi,

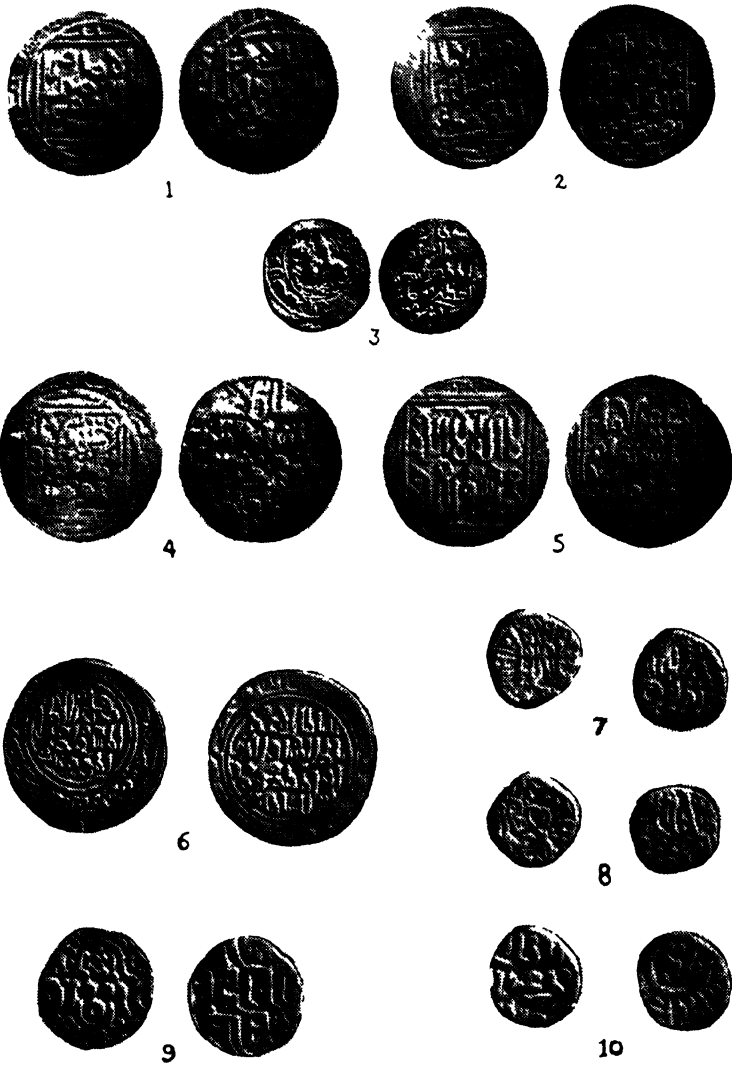
the customary fees at the rate of ten or fifteen per cent, which other chief justices before him have imposed, he has not extorted, nor has he had any concern with such, neither has he considered such to be right". This fee seems identical with the *dadbeki* which Firoz Tugluq considered as illegal and formally abolished, an event which would imply its continuance as a normal practice³.

this may be due to the Khalji centralization and the effect of the abolition of assignment system substituted by cash payment as was done in other departments.

¹ Minhaj, p. 276

² *Ibid*, p. 275; Raverty's translation, p. 790. The printed text is defective here.

³ *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*, Elliot, III, p. 377.



MEMELUKE COINS.

CHAPTER XIV

FINANCE AND CURRENCY

Mention of fiscal affairs in the contemporary accounts is extremely rare. It is undoubted, however, that the four taxes allowed by the *Shariah* furnished the Sultanate's basic income. These were: State's income; the *Shariah* taxes. (i) the tax on agricultural produce, called *kharaj* and *ushr*¹; (ii) poll-tax on the *zimmis* called *jaziah*; (iii) 1/5 of the booty captured in battle from the infidels, called *khums*, and (iv) the income-tax on the Muslims, called *zakat*. The last item, although collected by the state, could be spent only on certain specified items². In the land revenue the distinction between *kharaj* and *ushr*,—the latter being a tax of 1/10th of the produce of land held by a Muslim or watered by natural means,—could not be maintained when non-Muslims began to accept Islam in large numbers and were allowed to retain their lands, so that, at an early date in the history of Islam, the *kharaj* had come to be applied both on Muslim and non-Muslim holders³. Further, it is doubtful if these taxes were realised in India with the same scrupulous regard to the legal rules as is expected; under the Memeluke Sultans, at any rate, the land revenue is almost always referred to as the *kharaj*. Aibak, on his accession, is known to have reintroduced the distinction

¹ For the rules governing the application of *kharaj* and *ushr*, see Abu Yusuf: *Kitabul Kharaj*, pp. 35-39; Aghnides: *Muslim Theories of Finance*, pp. 362, 426.

² See Bahim: *Muhammedan Jurisprudence*, p. 365.

³ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, article on *kharaj*; also al-Mawadi: *Akhkamus-Sultaniyah*, p. 138.

between *karaj* and *ushr*, for on the property (*milk*) of the Muslim citizens of Lahore he fixed the tax at 1/10 and in some cases even 1/20, instead of the existing 1/5, which the narrator considered illegal¹. But later instances do not prove its continued application; Barani records the imposition of *kharaj* on the land of one Sirajuddin, early in Balban's reign². Even the schedule of rates, as laid down by the lawyers, was not always adhered to, as is evident from Balban's advice to Bughra Khan "to adopt the middle course in exacting *kharaj* from the subjects and not to take too much or too little from them"³. Obviously, expediency was the sole criterion; Alauddin Khalji's reforms in the matter of land revenue with a view to forestall rebellion and fill his treasury by fixing the state-demand at 1/2 of the gross produce, are well-known. ⁴This *kharaj* was collected by the king's *diwan-i-wazarat* directly from the peasants only in the *khalisah* areas. In the provinces, the *muqti's* revenue department supervised the collection and rendered an account together with the surplus to the central exchequer. With this revenue should also be classed the amount realised as tribute from the vassal rulers, which was in reality only a composition for the *kharaj*, realised from the peasants of the state concerned⁴.

Curiously enough, the earlier chronicles omit all mention of the imposition of *jaziah* on the conquered Hindus⁵. This need not, however, mean that the poll-

¹ Fakhre Mudir: *Tarikh*, pp. 33-34.

² Barani, p. 194.

³ Barani, p. 100.

⁴ The Persian word *peshkash*, used in the sense of a nominal tribute and present by writers in the Mughal period, is not found in the early chronicles where the words *kharaj* and *malguzari* are used in connection with the submission of the Hindu princes; see e.g. *Tajul Maasir*, ff. 469, 255a; see also *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi*, p. 416a.

⁵ Among works written in India it is mentioned first in the *Adabul Harb*, f. 157b-158a but the term is evidently used to denote taxes levied both on the Hindu and Muslim peoples.

Jaziah. tax was not levied, but there seem good reasons to believe that the term *jaziah* was not used exclusively in the sense of a capita-tion tax as is understood to day or was interpreted by later writers¹. The earliest use of the tax in this sense was by Firoz Khalji who admits his having imposed it on the Hindus²; in actual practice, it does not always seem to have been enforced in all its essen-tial details. A significant instance comes, from the reign of Firoz Tughluq who in a boastful manner records his services to Islam and the *Shariah*, in, among other acts, realising the *jaziah* from the Brahmins who had hitherto been exempted from this tax³. He also talks of his having abolished the *jaziah* on those who embraced Islam as a mark of special favour, which would suggest that even Muslim converts before him were required to pay this tax⁴.

In the realisation of the *khum*s also, similar depar-ture from the rules of law are noticeable. This is proved, again, by Firoz Tughluq's remarks that before him the government practice in Delhi was to retain 4/5 of the booty (*ghanimah*) and distribute only 1/5 to the participating soldiers, which was just the reverse of what the law prescribes⁵. In 1259, Ulugh Khan returned from the Mewati expedi-tion with, among others, sixty bags each containing 30,000 *tanka*s, captured from the rebels, all of which was conveyed to the treasury⁶. The state appropriated the spoils taken even from Muslim opponents. Quba-

¹ Juwaini, writing towards the end of the 13th century, uses both *jaziah* and *kharaj* to mean tribute; II, p. 89. Barani, also on two occasions, calls the land revenue *jaziah*; p. 574.

² Barani, p. 218.

³ Afif: *op. cit.* p. 38. Even Firoz did not impose the customary four rates of the tax as described in the *Adabul Harb*, f. 158a. Cf. Afif's details of Firoz's tax; p. 383.

⁴ *Futuhat-i-Firozshahi*, f. 304b.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 300b.

⁶ Minhaj, p. 315.

chah's treasures were all appropriated for the treasury by the victorious *wazir* of Iltutmish; Balban also confiscated the rebel Tughril's treasure¹. In the 13th century, when expedition and raids were the order of the day, this item must have brought in enormous wealth; in 1233 Malik Tayasai's raid into Chandella and Jajapella territories yielded, in the 1/5 alone, something like twenty five lakh *tanka*s².

No clear evidence has come down to us to show the manner in which the *zakat* was collected; in fact, there is hardly any mention of it in the contemporary writings. Its highly religious character and the forbidding specifications as to its disbursement³, raise a suspicion that at least in the Memeluke State strict application of the law in this matter was probably not made; Firoz Tughluq's reign, at any rate, provides the earliest record of its collection⁴. It may have been collected whenever possible to defray the cost of the religious endowments and pension to the *ulema* and of the ecclesiastical establishments. Early in Muhammad Tughluq's reign, mention is found of a duty collected on the merchandise crossing the frontier at a rate calculated on the basis of *zakat*⁵. It was in effect only a customs duty and most probably credited to the general revenues. That the income from this source was meant to be so treated is evident from the fact that it was levied on non-Muslims also for whom the rate was doubled⁶.

The existence of transit duties and tolls is indicated in the narrative of Balban's envoy journeying to Bani-

¹ Elliot; II, p. 242. Barani, p. 92.

² Minhaj, p. 240.

³ See Aghnides; *op. cit.* pp. 298-333, for details of the regulations.

⁴ The *Fiqh-i-Firozshahi*, an anonymously compiled work on legal practices in Firoz Tughluq's time, mentions a separate treasury for the *zakat*; cited in Qureshi; p. 93.

⁵ Ibn Battuta: *Kitabur Rahla*; Defre. Sang. III, p. 112-113.

⁶ See Aghnides: *op. cit.* p. 318.

yan who carried a number of slaves for defraying, out of their sale-proceeds, his expenses¹.

Other cesses.

There must have been other taxes also; those abolished by Firoz Tughluq must have been, in one form or another, part of the Sultanate's normal income². The *Shariah* allows the ruler to claim all underground treasure and mines. The *amir-i-bahr's* duties probably included the collection of ferry dues and tolls on the waterways.

Very little can be added respecting finance administration to what has been said above under the *diwan-i-wazarat*. Only once in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* we come across the word *baitul mal*; whether it meant the existence of a separate treasury for the *zakat*, is not clear from the context³. For revenue in the sense of state income the term *khazanah* is generally used. As the government was controlled by the Sultan's household establishment, the public revenue could be squandered in the pursuit of his pleasure; for there does not appear, as yet, the existence of a privy purse for the king. Firoz emptied the treasury on the caterers of pleasure; Kaiqubad, after his return from Awadh, is said to have spent all the surplus revenues, so assiduously collected by Nizamuddin, on his dancing girls⁴.

Regarding the Memeluke coinage the masterly studies of Edward Thomas and Nelson Wright must remain works of lasting value. All that can be done here is to give a summary of their investigations and discuss a few incidental points.

As Thomas remarked, the Turkish conquerors did not at once introduce a new monetary system, but

¹ Minhaj, p. 321.

² For these taxes see Qureshi: p. 229-9; other taxes of a similar nature are to be found in Afif: pp. 374-77.

³ Minhaj, p. 182.

⁴ *Idem*; Barani, p. 164.

adapted the existing one to their use. The older currency of mixed metal, known as *dehli-wala*, was continued with variations that were slow and very gradual. The design and device of the Hindu coin were retained, more or less, uniformly on the Muslim currency issues. It was Balban, more than sixty years after the conquest of Delhi, who finally replaced the Hindu device of the "bull and horseman" with the sovereign's name inscribed in Devanagri characters¹. In the early years of the occupation, this mixed metal *dehliwala* was therefore the ordinary money. Minhaj, however, almost always uses the term *jital*, the new name which, some years later, came to be applied to a debased adaptation of the *dehliwala*². This *jital* henceforth became the normal billon issue and the *dehliwala* went out of use. Pieces of this type were also coined by Yalduz and the Qarlugh princes during their brief rule in India³.

In gold coinage also, distinctive features of the new regime did not become regular until the reign of Mahmud. Of the three known pieces of Muizzuddin two are mere imitations of the Gahd-vala issues, with even the figure of the goddess Lakshmi reproduced exactly, the only identifying element being the sovereign's name inscribed in Indian characters⁴. Even the third one, a unique piece and obviously based on the Islamic *dinar* type current in his northern dominions⁵ and meant to be a commemo-

¹ Only one billon issue of Balban has been found to bear the older device: *JASB* 1894, p. 64, no. 1.

² Thomas's view that the *jital* was merely a continuation of the *dehli-wala*, has been found to require modification, since the *jital* contained a lesser amount of silver and was possibly intended to have a lower exchange value; see Wright, p. 72-73. For the *jital* in Central Asia, see *JASB*, 1924, p. N38.

³ Wright, p. 90; Rodgers, p. 42.

⁴ Thomas; *Chronicle*, p. 19-20; Wright, p. 6, nos. 4 and 5.

⁵ See Lane Poole: *BMC*. no. 6, for the northern *dinar*.

rative issue, bears a Devnagri legend and the figure of a horseman, much in the tradition of the Chauhana coins¹. Gold pieces of this latter type were struck by Iltutmish in 608, 614, and 616, but except the Arabic legend, the *kalimah* and the caliph's names, they bear little resemblance to the Ghazni *dinar*². Presumably because of the lack of a weight standard for which the native silver currency does not appear to have supplied a recognised model, the gold coin did not become regular until half a century later³ when, the silver coinage having in the meantime come into general use, it became possible to fit the gold piece into the currency scheme.

The copper issues of the period also roughly correspond to the weight standard of the older *dehliwala*⁴; they seem to have been known as *adl*⁵.

It is for the introduction of a basic silver coinage that Iltutmish's reign is considered as marking the commencement of Indo-Muslim monetary system. This coin, the

ancestor of the modern *rupee*, was the
 Silver *tankah*. *tankah*, an Indian term indicating a weight of silver, whose earliest use to signify a currency piece is found in a bilingual silver *dirham* of Mahmud of Ghazni, struck at Mahanudpur (Lahore) in 1027⁶. But the Delhi *tankah* was not a *dirham* to whom, except the form and the legend, it bore no intrinsic relationship. For, what made the *tankah* exclusive-

¹ Wright, p. 6, no. 3a.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15, nos. 49F and 49G. Apart from these Chauhana features, these gold coins weigh only 70·6 grains, whereas the Ghazni *dinars* weigh 118 to 134 grains.

³ Cf. NC. 1885, p. 216, for a gold coin, originally ascribed to Raziah, but which was later found to be a forged issue; NC. 1921, p. 342.

⁴ The conventional weight of 32 *rati* or 16 grains was the ideal to which both the Muslim and Hindu copper and billon issues aimed at; see Thomas, p. 4. For a similarity in variations of weight in both the Hindu and Muslim copper pieces, see *Supp. CCIM*, I, p. 61-62; II, pp. 80-83, 100-106.

⁵ See Wright for such copper coins bearing on the reverse the word *adl*.

⁶ Thomas; *Chronicle*, pp. 47-48.

ly Indian, is, besides the name, the weight standard which, as Thomas had shown, followed the indigenous practice. The Memeluke *tankah*, meant to be divisible by the 32-*rati purana*, to which weight the older *dehliwala* approximated, was planned to contain 1 *tola* or 96 *ratis* of silver, this being equal, according to Messrs. Wright and Nevill, not to 175 as Thomas thought, but 172·8 grains. The subsequent gold *tankah* also was adjusted to this standard weight, of which Muizzuddin's above mentioned Indian *dinar* was perhaps an anticipation.

With the adoption of the Arabic legend, doubtless borrowed from the *dinar*, including the *kalimah* and the sovereign's titles, the *tankah* became the standard monetary unit of the Delhi Sultanate.

Experimental
pieces.

The inclusion of the reigning Caliph's name on the obverse completed the experimental process, which, judging from the published specimens, was begun as early as 614/1217¹. The first appearance of the Caliph's name on the obverse of a clearly dated coin, hitherto containing only the *kalimah*, was on the issue of 622/1225, which also contains an elaboration of the Sultan's title indicating his closer association with the "commander of the Faithful"². From 628/1280-1, appears the name of the Caliph al-Mustansir for in that year Ilutnash received his long-expected investiture, an event most probably commemorated by the undated issue which bears only the *kalimah* and the Caliph's name³. The legend that was thus finally evolved is represented by No. 31 of Thomas which, with slight variations, continued to be the model of his successors' *tankah*.

² *Ibid*, p. 17, No. 191.

¹ Wright, p. 16, no. 49H.

³ Thomas: *Chronicle* No. 28; Wright, p. 16, No. 50c.

In tracing the evolution of the *tankah* Thomas, and also Wright seem to have confined themselves to the Delhi series, thus taking no notice of the contributions of the Bengal mint. The silver issues of Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, king of Lakhnauti, dated in 616/1219, on the other hand, bear close resemblance, in design and form of the legend, to Iltutmish's final piece of 632/1234¹. His subsequent issues, notably those of 619/1221, and 620/1222, not only include the Caliph al-Nasir's name, but also approximate in weight to the 172-grains standard². They contain, in addition to Iwaz's expanded sovereign titles, also the exact date of the month and year, —a singular feature, which Thomas rightly interpreted as a commemoration of his receipt of investiture from the Caliph³.

To Iltutmish however should belong the sole credit of absorbing the existing billon pieces, under the new name of *jital*, as a lower denominational coin to whose weight-scheme, as has been noted above, the *tankah* was adjusted. The *jital* seems deliberately to have been given a lower silver content than its older model; an assay of some specimens revealed approximately 3·6 grains or 2 *ratas* of silver, instead of the 7·8 grains of the *dēhīwala*⁴. This enables us to fix its intrinsic value which must have governed its relation with the *tankah*; on the evidence of an assay carried out by Thomas, Wright and Nevill thought a *jital* was valued at 1/12th of a *tankah*. This they have subsequently modified in favour of 1/48, which was, in any case,

¹ *JRAS* (N.S.), VI, p. 352, no. 4.

² *CCIM*, II, p. 145, no. 3.

³ *JRAS* (N.S.), VI, p. 357. The fact that the same date of the month is repeated in both the years, indicating an anniversary, makes the supposition almost a certainty.

⁴ Wright, p. 71-73, and 79.

the *jital's* exchange value in north India towards the end of the 13th century. On this view, the small silver pieces of Mahmud¹, Balban², and Kaiqubad³, with an average weight of 14·4 grains and called *masha* by Wright, would have the same value as four *jitals*; they might, in fact, have been intended for a four *jital*-piece. From Balban's reign appear a series of bilingual mixed metal pieces whose silver content, being less than that of a *dehliwala*, but more than that of a *jital*, was probably meant to give it an intermediate place in the monetary scale; Wright suggests that its token value represented a two *jital* piece or 1/24 of a *tankah*⁴. It would thus not only fit into, but would also furnish corroborative evidence of, the 48-*jital tankah* scheme. Iltutmish's billon currency furnishes an example of what Wright thinks is a three-*jital* piece, i.e., 1/16th of a *tankah*, the ancestor of the modern *anna*⁵. The same value is also indicated by one of Kaiqubad's *jitals* which, containing an average of 8 grains silver per coin, seems to have been meant for the token value of 1/16 of a *tankah*⁶.

About the exact value of the copper coin in relation to *jital* and the *tankah*, our knowledge is largely inferential. In the first place, we do not know its exact denomination; some of them, as noted earlier, bear the inscription '*adl*', but this term is found subsequently in billon and silver issues also⁷. Shahabuddin Abbas, writing early in the 14th century and referring to Muhammad b. Tughluq's currency, calls his copper coins *fals*, four of which, he adds, exchanged for a

¹ *JASB*, 1894, p. 68, no. 21; Rodgers: *IV Supp.* no. 15.

² Rodgers: *IV Supp.* No. 20.

³ Wright, no. 262A.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28, no. 91.

⁴ P. 80-81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81, no. 268.

⁷ Thomas: *Chronicle*, nos. 124 and 180.

*jital*¹. In the second place, the actual weight of the copper issues, which varies from 71 to 12 grains², does not give us any clue as to their intrinsic proportional value. On the other hand, if Messrs. Wright and Nevill are right in holding, as they do, that the exchange value of copper to silver was 80:1 (that is, 288 grains of copper exchanged for a *jital* containing 3·6 grains or 2 *ratīs* of silver) then, the intrinsic value of the copper coin calculated in silver, would determine its relation to the higher coins in Delhi transactions. A *tankah* containing 14·4 grains of silver, for example, would thus exchange for 16 copper pieces of 72 grains each, and for 96, in the case of the smaller issues of 12 grains each. In other words, four 72-grains copper coins would be equivalent to one *jital* and would thus accord with Shahabuddin's statement respecting the exchange value of the *fals*, thus showing that there was little fluctuation in the value of the currency pieces from the 13th century.

Some of Iltutmiah's *adls* are however found to weigh as little as 8 grains; these, according to Wright, could have borne no token relationship with the higher coins, they being valued at their intrinsic metallic worth. A classification of the weight in the different copper issues may probably lead to the discovery of a sub-divisional gradation similar to what is found in the silver *tankah*. Some of the recorded specimens weighing 49, 36, 24, 18, and 12 grains³ would, indeed, seem to fall readily into a subdivisioinal scheme of 2/3, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4 and 1/6 of the 72-grains (40 *rati* copper) *fals*. In silver,

¹ Quoted in Wright, p. 161.

² CCIM, II, pp. 33, 35, nos. 145-46 and 158-59.

³ Wright No. 261 (Kaiqubad, 49·1 grs.); 249 (Balban, 55 grs.); 131 (Iltutmish, 178 grs.); 239 (Mahmud, 12·4 grs.); 256 (Balban) 12·5 and 10·3 grs.). The weights seem to indicate only an approximate division; allowance should also be made for wear.

the existence of such a gradation is proved by the small pieces of Iltutmish, Mahmud, Balban and Kaiqubad¹. The variations in their weight can easily be classified, according to the revised 172-grains *tankah* standard, into 86·4, 57·6, 28·8, and 14·4 grains. This would give them a value of 1/2, 1/3, 1/6 and 1/12 respectively of the *tankah*. A similar gradation in the gold coin is also indicated by the discovery of a gold piece of Mubarak Khalji weighing 55·7 grains². On the basis of Nevill and Wright's conclusion that the ratio of gold to silver was 1:10, a gold *tankah* (*tankah-i-talai*) would exchange for ten silver pieces of equal weight.

Earlier coins bear no mint name; two of Muizzuddin's copper issues, however, seem to indicate their place of origin but the reading is doubtful³. Iltutmish

Mints. appears to have started the practice of inscribing the mint name on his *tankah*.

One of his rare silver coins bears the vague name of *Bilādul Hind*⁴; another, dated 616/1219, has been read as mentioning Gour, but the word looks more like Nagaur⁵. The earliest appearance of Delhi as a mint is on a *tankah* of 628/1230-1⁶. The reading of Lakhnauti on another of his silver pieces, dated 633/1235, is however, disputable⁷. A supposed copper issue of the same monarch bears the name of Multan⁸. The earliest undoubted mention of Lakhnauti occurs in a *tankah* of Raziah⁹. Balban seems to have established a number of new mints; one of his copper pieces was minted at the '*Khitta*' Sultanpur¹⁰. A silver *tankah*

¹ *JASB*, 1916, p. 129, no. 1; 1890, p. 68, no. 21; 1883, *Rodgers supp.* III, No. 20; 1916, p. 113, No. 3.

² *NC*, 1924, p. 346.

³ Wright, p. 11, No. 35A and 36.

⁴ *NC. op. cit.*, p. 340.

⁵ Wright, No. 49F; *JASB* (N.S.), VI, p. 348; on the point see also note 7, p. 94, *supra*.

⁶ Wright, No. 50F.

⁷ *JASB*, 1881, p. 67; *CCIM*, II, p. 21, no. 38; also, intro. p. 6.

⁸ *CCIM*, II, p. 25, no. 82.

⁹ Thomas: *Chronicle*, p. 107, no. 90.

¹⁰ *JASB*, 1904, p. 66; also 1910, p. 566, no. 1.

of his mentions a mint which has been tentatively read as *Khitta Alwar*¹.

The Memeluke currency showed expert planning and adjustment. It was skilfully incorporated into the Indian weight-standard and made large concessions to the people's notions and circumstances.

Exchange rates.

As a measure of the ability of the Delhi financiers it would be observed, the relative value of the currency pieces remained steady throughout the century. The following table, summarising the points discussed above, will show that the silver *tankah* was the central coin which ruled all other metal denominations, although, as Nevill and Wright point out, the monetary standard was tri-metallic, the intrinsic value of the pieces governing their token relationship with each other.

1 gold *tankah* of 96-*rati* or 172'8 gr.=10 silver *tankahs* of 172'8 gr.

1 <i>tankah</i> =in silver	{	12,	<i>mashas</i> , of 14'4 gr.
		6,	28'8 gr. pieces.
		3,	57'6 gr. pieces.
		2,	half- <i>tankahs</i> of 86'4 gr.
in mixed metal: (<i>jital</i>)	{	48,	57 gr. coins with 3'6 gr. of silver.
		16,	3- <i>jital</i> pieces; original silver content: 10'8 gr.
		24,	2- <i>jital</i> pieces; original silver content: 6 gr.
in Copper: (<i>fals</i> or <i>adl</i>)	{	192,	71-gr. pieces.
		256,	48-gr. pieces.
		284,	36-gr. pieces.

1 *jital*=4,72-grs. copper *adl* or *fals*.

¹ NC, 1924, (V series, I), p. 343.

CHAPTER XV.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE.

It is perhaps safe to hold that Persians, Afghans and Turks, with a sprinkling of Arabs, formed the upper class of Muslim society in the first century of Muslim rule over north India. Conversion from Indian tribes, not inconsiderable in number, swelled the rank and file, but except in Sind, from where some converts are mentioned in early Arab accounts as having reached positions of honour and distinction in Arabian letters and society¹, they do not seem, by the available evidence, to have been accorded positions of equality. Drawn as they were as yet mostly from the lower classes of the Indian people,—if traditions respecting the early Muslim missionaries are to be believed—, they could hardly hope to be admitted into the aristocracy of the conquerors or to a share of their privileges. The most jealous guardian of this aristocracy was the Turk whose military power enabled him to reserve the leadership for his own race. As he overran the North Indian river valleys, fame and increased resources heightened his superiority-complex; this was reaffirmed by his success in withstanding the Mongol storm when all other people went down. There was substance in Balban's claim that not less than fifteen sovereign princes from Muslim Asia had found asylum in his kingdom. Unquestionably, the Indian Turk had proved himself the leader of the eastern world of Islam.

Composition of
Muslim Society.

¹ *Islamic Culture*, 1927, pp. 177-78.

But among the least effects of the Mongol eruption was a vast shake-up and mixing of the different races composing the Islamic peoples. In India, its resultant

forces went, in no small measure, to the evolution of a homogeneous Muslim society. In the second generation

Mongol pressure;
mixing of races.

from Muizzuddin, the Turk was isolated from his homeland and was compelled to fight with his back to the wall. Countless refugees poured from Khurasan and even Iraq and from beyond the Hindukush to swell his rank and the solidarity of Muslims fighting against a powerful infidel had to become a real and overriding sentiment. In this prolonged war-emergency, native converts and even non-Muslims proved indispensable; the former even found opportunities to learn the conqueror's ways and even to make a bid for political power. Despite Balban's rantings against 'low-born non-Turks' the employment, as his *aris*, of Imadul Mulk *Rawat*,—of obvious Indian parentage—seems to have been unavoidable. More significant is Barani's reference to the Mongol converts who had settled in Delhi and had close family ties with leading Turkish nobles and held high position in Kaiqubad's court. Intermarriage with the natives and with the refugees imperceptibly but inevitably diluted the Turk's blood and also, though in a slower manner, his cultural ideas. The Khalji state, more broadbased than that of the Memelukes, was only a political expression of these social forces.

Two broad divisions of Muslim society seem to have persisted from the very beginning. 'This was the *ahl-i-saif* and the *ahl-i-qalam*, men of the sword and men of the pen, the latter, judging from the recorded types, being almost wholly confined, in the first one or two generations, to non-Turkish foreigners. From them were

9
Division of society;
the *ahl-i-qalam*.

drawn recruits for the clerical services, the *katib*, the *dabir*, the *wasir*. In the lower ranks of the revenue staff should be placed the native lettered class, both Hindu and Muslim. By far the most influential section of the *ahl-i-qalam* were of course the ecclesiastics—theologians and *litterateurs*—who, along with the *umara*, formed the first two estates of Muslim society. Although not so strictly organised as the Christian episcopacy they were yet, informally, a well-knit group, intensely conscious of their importance and jealous of their high privileges. They manned the judicial and ecclesiastical services and wherever there was a mosque,—and every Muslim locality must have one—, the *imam*, the *khatib*, the *muhtasib* and the *mufti* represented an interest which received state-recognition. They necessarily controlled the educational establishments and thus put a premium on unorthodox thought and learning calculated to undermine their positions. The authority of the *sadrus-sudur* who officially presided over this class, thus embraced all the lettered Muslims except the group known as the *mashaikh*, the mystic saints whose independence and other-worldiness could never suit the literal-minded *ulema*. Between the two sections there was little mutual admiration; the *ulema's* unconcealed anxiety to please the secular authority often brought forth bitter condemnation from the saints. Because of their popular appeal the latter, however, demanded attention; the official class, including even the king, were obliged to treat them with due deference. Firoz Khalji's reign affords an instance, in the incident of the mystic Sidi Maula, of how these men could constitute political danger, for their appeal transcended racial and credal barriers.

Among the 'fighters' who supplied the executive and military personnel, military rank naturally determined

social position. This rank seems to have been graded into *khan*, *malik*, *amir*, *sipahsalar*, and *sar-i-khail*. In the form these titles are mentioned in the chronicle they appear to be a reproduction of the Turkish tribal arrangement in which the family and not the individual was the unit of society. In the first quarter of the century when tribal loyalties were still fresh the extension of this heirarchical organisation to India may perhaps be assumed. But as non-Turks, mostly Iranians, increased the number of the fighter class, this order of society would inevitably undergo a process of transformation. The Turk had nothing comparable to the *marwali* system of the Arab by which each tribe preserved its separate entity when the *Ajami*, in large numbers, entered the fold of Islam and threatened to disrupt the tribal basis of society. In India non-Turkish slaves were attached to families and acquired their traditions but the free-born converts and immigrant Muslims could not be given a place at the end of the social ladder.

It is of course hardly to be expected that these factors would lead to the emergence, at this period, of the very modern idea of the individual being the unit of society; punishment of the offender's family which is instanced by some of the 13th century-rulers would not accord with such a notion. The family still remained the unit but its grouping under the *sar-i-khail* disappeared. The process must have been slow and its completion cannot be dated; Barani, writing in the fourteenth century still uses the generic term of *khail-khanah*. In any event, as indicative of social rank the *sar-i-khail* finds no further mention in the chronicles. The many cases of promotion recorded in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* do not even include the *sipahsalar*; the *amir*,

The *ahl-i-sarf*.

Early ranks.

malik and the *khan* seem to include the entire personnel of the *ahl-i-saif*. Only in the case of Aibak his rank of *sipahsalar* is mentioned¹, and is included among his titles in one of the epigraphic records of his reign. Subsequently, it appears to have lost rank and came to occupy the lowest position; even in the officer cadre of the army, early in the 14th century, Shahu-buddin Abbas, in describing the Tughluq army organisation, assigns to it the smallest command and pay².

The practice of regarding the *amir* as the first rank to be held by the aspirant to military aristocracy, which became normal in the latter 13th century, seems to have had even earlier beginning. Nizamul Mulk, writing in the 12th century, in describing the system of training for the slaves, mentions the *amir* as the first responsible office the newly trained slave was to occupy³. He adds that this system was becoming obsolete in his time; but not so in the Meme-luke Sultanate. Ghazi Malik's admission into the military aristocracy began with his promotion to the rank of *amir*⁴. It was also Iltutmish's first commission. In fact every slave seems to have acquired this rank before he received an executive post⁵. Since the days when Subuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni expressed their sovereignty by this title alone the *amir* like the *sipahsalar* had lost rank and by the time of the Tughluqs was only a captain in charge of a hundred troopers. Whether the possible elevation of the prin-

¹ Fakhre Mudil: *Tarikh*, p. 22.

² Elliot, III, p. 578.

³ *Siyasat Naman*, ed. Khalkhali, pp. 74-75.

⁴ *Bahlah*, Def. et Sang. III, p. 201-2.

⁵ See Minhaj, for the careers, among others, of Tajuddin Sanjar Gazilakkhan, Tughril Tughan Khan, Qaraqash Khan, Iltutmish and Badrud-din Sunqar. For the prevalence of this system among the Turks even of Egypt, see Enay. Islam article on *Mamluks*.

cipal non-Turkish refugees straightway to the rank of *malik* in the 13th century had anything to do with the *amir's* degradation cannot be stated with certainty, but the Memeluke chronicles undoubtedly show a surfeit of the first-mentioned dignitary; an Indian Muslim is also described as *malik*¹. The higher rank of *khan* was held as a rule by grown-up princes of the royal family and such of the Turkish *maliks* as were specially honoured by the king. If the lists of Minhaj and Barani are any guide, no non-Turk, not even the Khaljis, could ever hold this rank. It was presumably part of the distinctions enjoyed by governors of important provinces. Its absence from the titles of Aibak and Iltutmish is perhaps to be explained by their opportune elevation to the throne; only Balban served a long period of apprenticeship and passed through this grade. The highest status below that of the king was conferred by the title of *Ulugh Khan* (great *khan*), naturally held by only one person at a time. Balban, possibly in imitation of the Mongol terminology, preferred to call it *Qaan* which he bestowed on his heir-apparent, a shrewd move to forestall the recurrence of the process of his own usurpation.

The third element, *arwam o khkalq*, is less easy to distinguish. As the Muslim society was mainly urban at this period it must have included all the indeterminate

The commonalty. city crowd, the artisan,, the shop keeper, the clerk and the petty-trader. The big

merchants, since they are never mentioned separately, would also have to be grouped with this class, but wealthy, much travelled and accomplished merchants, *tajir* and *malikut-tujjar*, the found it easy to be admitted to the nobility. An important section was formed by the slaves owned by the king and the

¹ Kamal Mahiar; Barani, p. 126. See also Muizzuddin's *Firman*, (App. A), Ajaipal being called *Malik Muhammad Qaddaraz*.

nobility, who, before promotion to *imarat*, were employed in various domestic and technical jobs. They contributed the largest quota to the staff of the different *karkhanahs* and the city's craftsmen included not a few of them. A town's population would also include non-Muslims; although direct evidence is lacking it will not be far from truth to consider them as contributing the largest number to the city's trading community. In point of fact the influence born of wealth which the Hindu bankers and traders enjoyed would entitle them even to a position of aristocracy; indeed, Barani complains that they even out did the Muslims in pomp and material comforts¹.

Judging from Minhaj's account of the Muizzi and Shamsi *maliks*, very few of the immigrant Turks were born in Islam; most of them came as slaves sold in child-

hood to Muslim merchants. Along
 Religious groups.

with those settled in the Islamic countries and driven to India by the Mongols they were converted to *Sunni* Islam, the religion of the Ghaznavide, the Seljuq, the Khwarizmi and the Shamsabani dynasties. Politically, it was dangerous to countenance the *Shiah* sect whose faith involved allegiance to the enemy of the Abbasides, for the latter's moral sanction gave the Delhi Sultan his strongest support. Moderate as well as extreme *Shiahs* were all denounced as heretics and contemptuously designated as *mulahidah* and *rawafiz*. The *Qaramitah* also called *Batini*, came in for special persecution which throughout the eastern Caliphate was intensified after the destruction of the Fati-mide dynasty. Their headquarters in Alamut, in Northern Iran, became the object of a series of attacks in which both the Khwarizmis and Shamsabani claimed

¹ *Fatawai-Jahandari*, f. 120a.

notable success. Being persecuted everywhere they became a secret society and terrorised the *Sunni* world through their fanatic adherents (*fidais*) who became experts in using the assassin's knife.

Only in the Arab-ruled province of the Indus valley where Turkish orthodoxy was comparatively late in arriving, a section of the extreme *Shiah*, the *Qaramitah*

The *Shah*.
 ---forerunners of the *Ismailis*—found a
 lodgement in the 9th century. They

succeeded in making proselytes from the Hindu and Muslim population and winning political power in Upper Sind. In Multan and Mansura for more than two centuries political and religious allegiance was owed to the Fatimide Caliph of Egypt¹. Mahanud of Ghazni obtained only a temporary success for orthodoxy by installing a *Sunni* ruler over Multan, for Muizzuddin had to fight hard in order to overthrow the *Qaramitah* ruler. The final extension of Delhi's sovereignty put an end to their political power in the Indus valley but the sect was not exterminated. From Minhaj's account they even appear to have spread east and south and found followers in Gujrat and even in the Doab. Muizzuddin's death at their hands made the Memeluke state bitterly hostile to them; even the Mongol eruption failed to assuage this bitterness. Iltutmish's final acceptance of Abbaside suzerainty confirmed the *Shiahs* in their enmity to the Turkish rulers. While the *ulema* denounced them as unclean heretics, they on their part openly arraigned the latter for their worldly greed and compromising religiosity. Towards the end of Raziah's reign under the leadership of a person named Nur Turk² they conspired,

¹ See Elliot: I, p. 491, for supporting evidence of the Sumra rulers of Lower Sind being in political and religious affiliation with the Fatimides. For *Ismaili* success in Sind and Gujrat, see also Arnold: *Preaching of Islam*, pp. 274-277.

² Minhaj, p. 189-90.

to sieze power. Collecting the sect from all parts of India and fully armed he raised a great insurrection in the *Jami Masjid* and commenced a slaughter of the orthodox worshippers. It was a serious rising and took military force to quell it. Although suppressed on this occasion the sect could hardly be expected to die out; Barani's frequent condemnation of the *Mulahidah* heretics would postulate their continuance as a somewhat noticable religious group¹. Under the Memelukes nevertheless, Shiism made little progress in Hindusthan; it had to wait till the conversion of the Il-Khans of Persia gave it once again a political sanction.

Muslim society in the 13th century-India therefore predominantly belonged to the *Sunni* persuasion. With its rigid simplicity *Sunni* Islam also suited the ^{Sunni} Turkish mind which showed a predominance. singular ineptitude for the esoteric religion of the *Shiah*. With the theologians imported from abroad and also trained in India, the Memelukes set about to preserve the orthodoxy of their own faith and that of their compeers. The Mongols drove a large section of Iranian Muslims; whatever their original predilections might have been, they, exhibited a remarkable conformity in India. The Shansabanis belonged to the *Shafci* school of Muslim law², but the Memelukes held to the system of Abu Hanifa.

Not quite apart from the *Sunnis* and yet

¹ See for example, pp. 15, 43, 98 and 437. Not every section of the Muslims joined in the denunciation; on the contrary their leading *savants* were regarded with respect, as proved by a remark of Nizamuddin Aulia repeating the saintliness of Nur Turk; *Fawa'id Fawaid*, f. 102b.

² Minhaj, p. 77.

forming a distinctly important group was the mystic fraternity of the *sufis*. The 13th century was

remarkable for the great number of
 The *Sufi*. Muslim mystics who, men of great learning, lived away from the society of townsmen. Although not recluses in the real sense of the term and often householders, they were yet genuinely indifferent to material comforts. While not formally rejecting orthodoxy, but, on the contrary, mindful of its observances, they held to an ethical religion and strove after mystic communion with the Godhead. Except for certain religious exercises designed to bring about a particular mystic experience, like the *Sima*, (music intended to rouse the mind to a condition of ecstasy), they were indistinguishable in normal life from the orthodox, and many of them carried on ordinary vocations. The fraternity, grouped round the *murshid* (guide) was thus open to the orthodox Muslims also, initiation requiring nothing more than practising the graded exercises in the seclusion of one's home. Miracles were usually believed of them and even the uninitiated masses felt drawn to their unassuming piety. Even the formalist *wlema* reverently attended their *khanqah* and felt honoured when admitted to the circle of the select disciples. They scorned the advances of the official class and many lived in proud poverty. Of the many such mystic orders that arose in India and are active even now, the period under review saw the foundation and exclusive prevalence, each in its own area, of two of the most important, namely the *Chishtia* and the *Suhrawardia*, founded respectively by Muinuddin at Ajmer and Bahauddin Zakariya at Multan. While the latter remained confined to the Indus valley, the *Chishtia* order spread to the whole of Hindusthan and the

Punjab and counted among its potential adherents almost every notable Muslim of the age. Muinuddin died at Ajmer in 1235 and his tomb has since become a renowned place of pilgrimage, even for the laity. So are the tombs of his chief disciples like Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (died in 1235) at Delhi, Fariduddin Shakargunje (died in 1256), at Pakpattan, Nizamuddin Budauni (died 1325) at Delhi, every one of whom left a large number of equally honoured disciples. In Sind, the influence of Bahauddin's successors. Sadruddin, Jalaluddin and Ruknuddin, was equally great, the last named person's tomb being one of the finest extant specimens of Muslim architecture in Multan. Devotion to the *sufi* and his mystic cult thus formed an important feature of Muslim religious life under the Memelukes. Barani's account lists a large number of such *sufis* and *walis*, who, as a measure of their importance, have special chapters devoted to them by Ferishta and the historians of the Mughal period.

Whether one agrees or not with the view that Indian Vedantism was largely responsible for its growth, it is undeniable that the mysticism of the *sufi* furnished Islam's philosophical point of contact with Hinduism. It is through such contacts, fostered by the simplicity and broad humanism of the *sufi* that Islam obtained its largest number of free converts and it is in this sense that he is considered a missionary. On the behest of the *murshid*, he travelled to distant countries and settled down with a true missionary zeal amongst unfamiliar and even hostile people. An instance is afforded by Jalaluddin Tabrezi, one of Muinuddin's companions, who took up his residence under the Sena king of

Bengal. In Gujrat, then under Hindu rule, a *sufi* established his head quarters¹; Muinuddin himself is reported to have arrived in Ajmer several years before Muizzuddin's invasion². In the *sufi's* pantheistic outlook and engrossment with the soul which transcended the formalism of religion, the spiritualist Hindu recognised a familiar cult; his modesty and absence of religious pedantry coupled with his supposed miraculous power born, no doubt, from the strength of his faith, held out a powerful appeal. Islam's social values and the material prospects it then held out finally made this appeal irresistible, specially to those suffering from Brahminical caste-tyranny.

No evidence is forthcoming at this period to enable us to make any precise statement as to the mutual borrowings of popular Islam and Hinduism. The examples afforded by the Tughluq chronicles of definitely Hindu practices and Hindu inspired sects among the Muslims, may have had an earlier beginning. That Indian converts would retain some of their Hindu notions and practices needs little proof. The worship of the saint and his shrine, which gradually increased and became a source of great social evil in latter times, is a phenomenon which undoubtedly had its origin in the 13th century reverence for the *sufi*, but in whose wide incidence the Hindu predilection of worshipping local and tribal gods must have had no little share. To what extent the higher intellects of the two people reacted to each other's ideas is, however, a question whose answer the 13th century could be hardly expected to provide.

Hindu influences
on popular Islam.

¹ Titus: *Indian Islam*, p. 122-23.

² See note 1, p. 304, *infra*.

With its highly unsettled conditions the Memeluke Sultanate could boast of no great cultural activity. More than a century was to elapse before Muslim letters found its bearings in the new environment and exhibited, under the Tughluqs, a vigorous, creative spirit. What was produced in the 13th century had necessarily trans-Indian tradition behind it; Indian ideas and life could enter but little in the Muslim's intellectual make up. The new phase was to be started by the great Amir Khusrau whose contribution to the Indianization of Muslim culture was many sided. The use of Hindi poetical imagery and themes, his admiration and addition to India's music, and his spirited defence of Indian cultural values, are only a few of the services of this versatile poet, the first great creative writer of Muslim India¹. The spirit of the greatest medieval Muslim *savant* al-Beruni breathes through his writings, but while the latter's pleading for scientific appreciation of Indian philosophy and sciences evoked little response from his contemporaries, Khusrau's genius held out a living example in the domain of *belles lettres* which caught on and went to enrich the culture-content of medieval India.

Military preoccupations notwithstanding, the Memeluke ruler however, showed great awareness to the enduring virtues of literature; indeed, the pen no less than the sword was an integral component of his mental life. Some of it was no doubt inspired by practical needs; religious administration demanded works on theology and law, while politics needed chronicles and

¹ See Mirza: *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* for details; also Habib: *Hazrat Amir Khusrau*, p. 5.

treatises on statecraft. But a devotion to poetry, stories, literary histories and essays proves more than mere utilitarian outlook. It is true that the Memelukes were only the inheritors of this tradition and that the Mongol scourge brought in a large number of foreign writers to Delhi; but in the development of what may be called a culture-state they must have had a large share. Under every ruler Barani gives a long list of poets, theologians, lawyers, historians and masters of the epistolary art. Among prose writers the Delhi state could boast of such eminent names as that of the literary historian Nuruddin Muhammad Auḡi, the historian and political theorist Fakhruddin Muḡarak Shah, and the chroniclers Hasan Nizami and Minhaj Juzjani. Ziauddin Barani himself had more versatility than that of a mere historian; a later account ascribes to him, besides works on history, also treatises on state-craft, law, scriptural commentaries and religious practices¹. Poetry was a universally practised art and ability to compose verses was almost an essential complement to literary education. It is hardly necessary to single out names from among the hosts of poets maintained on the state's pension list or in the company of every prince and noble. Nor is it possible to distinguish the poet from the essayist, the historian from the theologian, for those were the days of encyclopaedic accomplishment. Balban's court was specially rich not only in eminent divines and poets but also in physicians and astronomers who in their special branches "had no equals." Badruddin Damashqi and Husamuddin Marikla are honoured names in the annals of medicine; Hamiduddin Mutriz was as much well versed in mathematics

¹ *Matlubut-Talibin*, cited in *Ethe: oc. cit.* entry No. 655.

and astronomy as in the healing art¹. The crown of the 13th century poets was Khusrau who with his friend Amir Hasan Sanjari, an equally accomplished writer, made even the Iranians jealous of the classic excellence of Indo-Persian poetry. Amir Khusrau himself speaks appreciatively of yet another of his contemporaries, named Rukn Muhmerah of Budaun².

Translation from Hindu works does not appear to have found a place in the literary interest of the time until Firoz Tughluq's reign when we find for the first

time a number of Sanskrit works rendered into Persian. But if a later

report is correct, the century can boast of at least one such translation, a work on Brahminical philosophy named *Amritakunda*, rendered into Arabic, remarkably enough, by a converted Brahmin from Assam, during the early years of Firoz Khalji's reign³.

It is hardly necessary to stress that such diffusion of and devotion to literature pre-supposes a high level of general education and the existence of widely patronised

educational establishments. Among the first institutions established in any new-

ly occupied place was a *madrasah*, while every mosque housed a primary school. There were privately run schools as well as state-financed seminaries. Iltutmish founded a richly endowed college at Delhi named after his eldest son Nasiruddin; another was at Multan called the Firozi *madrasah*⁴. The Khalji conquerors in Bengal established similar institutions. Barani speaks of a large number of eminent professors teach-

¹ Barani, p. 112.

² Quoted in Qureshi, p. 169, note 9; see also Budanni, I, p. 70 for quotations from his work.

³ Muhammad of Gwalior; *Bahrul Hayat*, a Persian translation of the same work, cited in Ethe: *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, entry No. 2002.

⁴ Minhaj was himself the principal of the Nasiri Madrasah for a number of years, p. 188.

ing in colleges all over the kingdom'. Under the Tughluqs, the capital alone is said to have possessed a thousand *madrashs* and two thousand *mukhtabs* (attached to mosques)² a statement which give a comparative indication of the state of affairs under their Memeluke predecessors.

Of cultivation of the arts, contemporary writings furnish little definite evidence. Architecture occupied their whole interest; in its decorative scheme, as evi-

The Arts, denced by the surviving monuments,
: mural painting entered but little. Stray
references to ornamental figures, both animate and inanimate, painted on walls or engraved or embroidered on furniture, flags, tents saddles and arms³, on the other hand, lead us to assume that the visual arts also reached high excellence under the Memelukes. Whether the portraits of the Sultans as found in the Mongol miniature albums were copied from earlier originals must remain a matter of speculation. Firuz Tughluq at any rate interdicted the practice of decorating the walls by coloured representation of living objects. The feeling for colour found concrete expression in the *unwan* of manuscripts produced for the nobles and royalties. Calligraphy was a widely diffused art which, when transferred to stone and paper, can embody almost as sensuous a beauty as that of the plastic art. Music has an irresistible appeal and despite the supposed legal ban it formed an essential part of festivities. With music went dancing, but one should hardly expect at this period that these two arts were cultivated for anything approaching intellectual satisfaction. With increased dependence on Indian performers the Muslims, it is reasonable to

¹ pp. 110-11.

² *Masali'ul Absar*; Elliot: III, p. 578.

³ *Futuhat-i-Firozshahi*, Elliot: III, pp. 281-82; see *Aif.* pp. 290, 374.

presume, rapidly acquired a taste for the Indian form of these arts and the inter-mingling, notably in music, had a highly enriching effect. Amir Khusrau was an accomplished musician himself; he not only set some of his poems to Indian tunes but is the reputed inventor of new *Ragas*'.

In manners and customs a rapid de-Turkicization is observable. It did not take the Tughrils, Ughul Baks, Actigins etc. long to shed their Turkish mannerism and adopt Persian and even Indianised Muslim names. One can suppose the compatriots of Aibak and Iltutmish speaking ordinarily in Turki, but against the ever expanding Persian it could have had only a shortlived vogue; no literary work in Turki, in any case, is known to have been produced in India. It is true, Balban's emphasis on Turki racialism would imply a revival of Turkish cultural elements. The long-continued device of the Turki horsemen on the currency pieces seems to point to the same direction. For the first time in Barani we find some of the state functionaries referred to in their Turkish designations¹. But Balban was too deeply committed to Persianism to bring about a real revival of Turki customs. His monarchical ideals were the ancient kings of Iran whose precepts and examples gave form and content to his autocracy; he could think of no illustrious names for his grandsons but Kaikhusrau, Kaikaus. Kaiqubad and Kaiumars. Turkestan obviously could not heighten the cultural glory of his court; Persian was the only channel through which he could reach the intellectual world of Islam and thus

¹ Faqirullah: *Bag-dar-pah*, quoted in Shibli Nomani: *Sherul Ajam*, p. 187.

² e.g. Barbek, Dadbak, Qirbeg, Ilagchi, etc. Barani, p. 126.

buttress his claim to the championship of civilisation against Mongol barbarism. For the eastern Muslims it was impossible to get away from Persian influence; in India it was to exercise an abiding tyranny.

But to escape the environmental influence was equally difficult; the Indian Turk was not even circumstantially equipped to attempt it. Significant of the

Local influences. new trend is the adoption by high

born Muslims, even of pure Turkish descent, of such Indian names as Chajju, Kachchan, Hamidraja, etc.¹. Chewing the betel leaf, a peculiarly Indian habit, found its way early among the nobles and Barani notes the excessive addiction to it of Balban's *ariz*². Under the Tughluqs, Ibn Battuta noticed another Indian custom of offering the *bira* of *pan* to the bride as a part of the marriage ceremony³. In daily conversation Indian terms inevitably seemed to find a place; Barani consistently uses the Hindi word *barshkal* for the rainy season⁴. Firoz Tughluq earned piety and gratitude by providing funds to pay for the marriage dowry of Muslim orphan girls⁵; it is difficult to interpret this dowry as anything but a Hindu-inspired custom, for Muslim law knows of no money payable by the bride.

In recreation and amusements a taste for chess (*shatranj*) and gambling (*qammarbazi*) was probably an earlier acquisition. So was also the out-door game

Recreations. of *chaughan*, a kind of polo. The royalty combined amusement with

military exercise in hunting excursions. Wine was almost an indispensable constituent of gaiety; holding

¹ Barani, pp. 170, 173; *TA*, trans. I, p. 140.

² P. 116-117.

³ *Rahlah*, Def. et. Sang, III, p. 277.

⁴ See for example, p. 86; *Fatawat-Jahandari*, ff. 116a, 117. For the use of the Indian term *khat*, (bedstead) see Barani, *Tarikh*, p. 117

⁵ *A'raf*, pp. 350-52.

of convivial parties with friends (*nadims*) was considered almost a royal convention. Balban is said to have given up wine altogether after his accession; it was clearly inspired by political expediency as in the case of Alauddin, rather than anxiety to observe the law, for the lawyers themselves were scarce disinclined to allow the monarch some latitude in this matter¹. Music and dancing girls were another means of diversion which, as time went on, became indispensable like wine, and from private amusement, became a conventional court practice. The employment of professional performers and courtesans seems to be a development inspired by Indian practice, for in central Asia and even in the Arabian countries, free-born professional musician of the female sex was a rare social phenomenon. The Indian courtesan and *nawtch-girl* was not paralled by the trained *jariya*.

An enquiry into the wealth-producing activities under the Memelukes yields little satisfying result, for these seem to have least interested the contemporary writers. To what extent and in what manner commerce and industry were fostered or the regime affected the country's economy, are questions whose answer must necessarily contain a fair amount of conjecture. We hear of merchants dealing in horses, slaves and in clothes, big importers and exporters, who appear to have nearly always been Iranian and Arabian Muslims². The Turk also dealt in horses imported from southern Turkistan (Khita) and had been a familiar figure in Hindu mercantile world. The Memeluke state had no sea-port and the sea-borne trade, filtering through to the Delhi markets, would touch only

¹ See Aff. pp. 145-147, for an incident about the pious Firoz and the author's attempt to gloss over it.

² Minhaj, pp. 138, 159, 167-68.

indirectly the land-locked kingdom's economic life. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* mentions, under Alauddin Khalji, an officer called the *tajerbagi*, but it is perhaps too early to expect the militarist Memelukes to make a conscious effort to increase or even regulate the foreign commerce¹.

This is not intended to mean that trade had no place in the economic life. On the contrary the government earned not a little income from taxes on traders and shop-keepers and also from transit duties on mercantile commodities. The luxury living of the nobility undoubtedly quickened the demand for consumers' goods and the middlemen as well as the craftsmen did good business. In Alauddin's reign we hear more about the traders on whom he sought to impose his economic regulations. Under Balban is mentioned an *amir-i-bazar*². Firoz Tughluq's list of the taxes he abolished would give us an idea of the variety of sellers who supplied the growing needs of the cit-folk³. The army department had no commissariat service and was dependent for provisions on the grain merchants who accompanied the campaigning force. We hear of no regular slave markets as in other Islamic countries, but the human merchandise was a recognised means of making money and was even used as a side business by members of the *ulema*⁴. A highly profitable business was money-lending, confined almost exclusively to Hindus whose mounting rate of interest, enforced by the state, enabled them to impoverish the Profligate nobles⁵. Amir Hassan mentions Mus-

¹ Trans. I, p. 154.

² Barani, p. 33-34; he seems to have possessed some official status and is also called *Rais-i-Bazar*, like Alauddin Khalji's controller of markets.

³ For a list see Qureshi, *op. cit.* p. 228-29; it includes also those mentioned by Aff.

⁴ See *Fawadul Fawaid*, f. 8a for an incident in which a saintly Afghan, joining the prayers behind such an *Imam*, admonished him for his mental preoccupations with this business during the prayers.

⁵ See, Barani, p. 120.

lim traders from Lahore (*sawdagar*) in Bahram's reign journeying to do business with the Hindus of Gujrat and making huge profits therefrom¹.

With regard to industry it is reasonable to hold that the Hindu craft-guilds and professional castes functioned also in Muslim administered territories. In

Industry. manufacture, India's self-sufficiency and exporting role seemed little dis-

turbed by the conquest. To provide for the nobleman's luxury kept the craftsmen busy. The king's various needs not only kept the wheels of industry moving but even caused the setting up of state manufactories (*karkhanah*). We hear of these early in the 14th century but their earlier beginning cannot be ruled out². The builder and stone worker, the tent-maker and the saddler, the perfumer and the oil-man, the upholsterer and cloth-maker, the metal worker and armourer, all were in great demand. Manufactured articles, to whose excellence Amir Khusrau pays warm tribute³, found ready buyers and the city markets never had a dull moment. If rising price of the manufactured article is any indication of the demands made on industry, the Khalji control would prove the flourishing condition of the craftsmen in the 13th century. The majority of these was Hindu; a small percentage came from the lower class Muslims, mostly Indian converts.

The main-stay of the state's economy was of course agriculture. The Memelukes showed an early realisation of their dependence on the peasantry. Ghiyasuddin

Agriculture. Tughluq's great concern for their welfare only stressed an attitude that

¹ *Fawadul Fawaid*, f. 63 b.

² Abbas: *Masalikul-Absar*; Elliot, III, p. 578.

³ Quoted in Qureshi, p. 211, note 4.

was shared by his predecessors. "The peasant is the back bone of the state," Balban used to say; "while he should not be allowed to develop into a rich potential rebel, ruinous exaction on him would cause a falling off in agriculture and the consequent impervishment of the state." "Follow the middle course in realising the *kharaaj*" said he to Bughra Khan¹. We possess no details respecting assessment and collection of the land revenue; we at least hear of no agrarian discontent. One can perhaps postulate large agricultural holdings and plenty of live stock. Except for military operation due to political troubles, the peasant in the countryside lived in contented isolation leading a communal life in his self-sufficient villages, selling his surplus grain in the market town and paying the revenue through the headman. The Memeluke Sultanate covered a transitional period continuing, as it did, many of the old ways of life; it is reasonable to think that the rural economy, as a result, felt no sharper turning in its course than it did under the eternally warring Rajput².

The inference is difficult to resist that as yet, in the period under review, the Muslim was merely a tax-receiver and took little direct part in the production and increase of the country's agricultural wealth. We find very few recorded instances of Muslim cultivators. One is mentioned in the story by Hamid Fazlullah of a poor desciple of Bahauddin Zakaria who tilled a small plot near Labor and who, unable to pay the revenue, had to compound for it by performing a miracle³. Another is, as noted already, the account of

¹ Barani, p. 100. See also p. 574.

² For the agrarian practices in pre-Muslim India see Ghoshal: *Agrarian System of Ancient India*. The systems of assignment, group-assessment and collection, which feature the Muslim revenue practice in India, were all known to the Indian peasants and were thus only a continuation of earlier practices.

³ *Siyaat Arafat*, f. 17a.

Balban's settlement of Afghan soldiers on the land to garrison the fortresses on the newly opened highways through Hindustan. To these should of course be added the converts from the rural Hindu population who, in all likelihood, unless forcibly ejected by the caste fraternity, retained their holdings. A peasant was a valuable asset and unless he elected to choose some urban calling, the feudatory prince or the paramount ruler would endeavour to keep him to his profession. But the interest of the Muslim ruling class in land was undeniably the revenue. Either as a *muqti* or as an *iqtdar* he derived his income from the revenue payable by the peasant cultivator. Even the *ahl-i qalam* held such assignment¹.

It is unnecessary to enter into the vexed question of who was the legal owner of the land; in practice the sovereign demanded of the peasant along with a share of his produce, an unfailing devotion to agriculture. The kind felt entitled to eject him if he neglected his duty².

Position of
the peasant.

The century affords no concrete evidence of irrigation and other facilities provided to the peasant by the tax-receiver; probably the urgency of military and political problems was all absorbing. But tanks excavated and *caravansarais* built by the Memelukes point to an attitude of benevolence which was not restricted to the urban population. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq is noted for his active interest in increasing rural prosperity³; his was clearly the application of a formerly conceived idea.

¹ See Minhaj, p. 214, for his *iqta*; also p. 195.

² Barani, p. 480; also p. 574.

³ Barani, p. 442.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PROTECTED PEOPLE (*zimmi*)

That religion contributed little to the motive force of the Shansabani conquest is scarcely an arguable point. Muizzuddin's first adversary on Indian soil was not an 'infidel' but a monarch with an equally orthodox adherence to Islamic law as as himself¹. While he destroyed the Muslim ruler of Lahore he tolerated the continuance of Hindu rule in Ajmer, Gwalior and Delhi; his lieutenant was prepared to allow the Chandella king to hold his dominions. Muizzuddin, according to a later account, even entered into alliance with the Hindu ruler of Jammu against Khusrau Malik². Numerous Hindu princes retained power and internal autonomy. To suggest that the Muslim Turks commenced their rule by an indiscriminate destruction of life, property and religion³, is to exhibit a gross misreading of their history. Such references as are found in the contemporary accounts to the destruction of temples must be examined not only against the background of war operations but also against the chronicler's habit of exaggeration. Hasan Nizami, for example, speaks in righteous satisfaction, of the destruction of all the temples in Kalinjar⁴, but, as a matter of fact, most of the pre-Muslim temples there or at Mahoba and Khajuraho are still in tact⁵. Similar

¹ He, with his brother, belonged to the *Kiramaniah* sect of the *Shafei* while the Ghaznawides were followers of Abu Hanifa; Minhaj, p. 77.

² *Rajdarashani*, f. 45b.

³ Cf. Titus: *Indian Islam*, pp. 15-35.

⁴ *Tajul Maasir*, f. 175b.

⁵ Cunningham: *Reports*, XXI, pp. 25, 58-69, and 71-79.

statements are also to be found in the accounts of the 'conquest of Benares, Kalpi, Delhi and Ajmer'; Minhaj also mentions the destruction of the Mahakal temple of Ujjain by Iltutmish and his conversion of Vighrahapala's college at Ajmer into a mosque². The *Quwatul Islam* mosque at Delhi was admittedly built out of materials of Hindu temples³; so was also Iltutmish's mosque at Budaun⁴.

For the most part, such damage resulted from military operations; where it did not, the motive is to be sought, not in the conqueror's religious zeal, but in his greed for precious metals. For, it is well known that a Hindu temple in those days and even now, contained fabulous amount of precious metals; in its inviolable sanctuary was deposited the treasure both of the people and the princes. India was a fabled country of gold; in point of fact, her export trade in manufactured goods enabled her to receive more of this metal than she sent out. The financial success of Mahmud's campaigns rested, it was believed, on his systematic spoliation of the temples, and the story of the bejewelled idol of Somnath and the gold contained in its hollow, had passed into a universally believed tradition. And material wealth, not so much an enthusiasm for religion, which in any case sat lightly on him, irresistibly attracted the Turk, the child of the desolate central Asian steppe. It is not without significance that after the overthrow of the Gahdvala king, Muizzudin's army marched to occupy, not the capital Kanouj, but Benares and Asni where the fallen king's treasure was known to have been deposited. It was by the amount of wealth rather

¹ *Tajul Maasir*, ff. 69b, 128a, 126b; Fakhre Mudir: *Tarikh*, p. 24.

² P. 176.

³ See the inscription, *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 13.

⁴ *Cunningham: Reports*, XI, p. 1.

than his success in glorifying Islam that Muizzuddin's achievements were estimated by the chronicler¹.

In the chronicler's exultant descriptions there was more than mere religious zeal. To talk exaggeratingly of the destruction of "temples and the establishment of the abode of God" had a definite propaganda value; it facilitated recruitment in central Asia and held out prospects both of religious glory and of worldly riches. The pompously phrased *Pathnamah*, prepared more with an eye to effect than accuracy, served a similar purpose and, when broadcast among the potential adventurers, brought in an uninterrupted flow of fighting personnel.

The conquered non-Muslim was, in fact, never disarmed and the invaders' limited number made any attempt at extending their religious ideals a highly hazardous task. Even peaceful settlement of the Muslim in the interior required armed aid. We have no account of this Muslim penetration into the countryside, but local traditions seem to have preserved the outline of this process. The following story current round the village of Newal, near Kanouj, is perhaps typical of the attitude of majority of the Hindus in the early years of the conquest. "Syed Alauddin came from Kanouj to Newal and wished to settle at Bangarman, (modern name of the village). But the raja, named Nal, ordered him to go away and sent his servant to drive him out. On this, the saint Alauddin cursed him and the place immediately turned upside down." Alauddin then took up his residence at the place where he died in 1302 as is recorded in the inscription on his tomb². Ghiyasuddin Tughluq bestowed some land on a certain person but the grantee was helpless against the Hindus

Muslim
colonization.

¹ Minhaj, p. 124-25.

² Cunningham: *Reports*, XI, p. 94: Elliot: *Chronicles of Unao*, p. 88.

who refused to let him settle there and had to resort to stratagem to take possession.¹ Private individuals, at great risks and often unaided by the state, colonised the rural areas and had to overcome stiff Hindu opposition.

Bulk of the conquered people still lived under their own rulers and in full enjoyment of religious liberty. Only the demand for tribute reminded them of the

Non-interference with the *zimmi*. Muslim conquest and it is extremely doubtful if they were or could be effectively called upon to pay, in

addition to the land-revenue compounded as tribute, the capitation tax as well. Even in the directly administered area, as mentioned above, important exemptions were, as a rule, granted in the incidence of the *jazia*. Despite the rulers' professions for suppressing *shirk*, the native's religion and ways of life were never normally meant to be interfered with. Nor was it a practicable proposition. Even the militant Islamists had to admit the impossibility of eradicating idolatry and heresy from India², Barani put it in the mouth of Balban that a complete extirpation of idol-worship must remain only an unattainable ideal³.

As a rule, non-Muslims enjoyed a large measure of liberty of worship and their temples retained their former sanctity. In a town on the road from Bareilly

Religious liberty. to Mathura, Cunningham noticed an old temple, built not later than 1000 A.D. with dated records of pilgrimage, and for the years 1241-1290 he found not less than fifteen such inscriptions⁴. In Multan, the famous temple of

¹ *Bahraich Gazetteer*, p. 120-21.

² See Elliot: *Chronicles of Unao*, pp. 94-95.

³ See Barani, p. 41 for a speech by Syed Mubarak Ghaznawi, a leading divine in Ilututish's court, on what he considered to be the duties of a Muslim King.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 72 and 74-75.

⁵ *Reports*, I, p. 206.

Aditya was re-erected after its destruction by the *Qaramitah* rulers and was kept in a flourishing condition to as late as the 17th century¹. That town, it is to be remembered, was not only an important provincial capital but, because of its association with renowned *sufis* and for its predominantly Muslim population, was also known as the *Qubbatul Islam* (dome of Islam). Liberty of religious worship even was extended to the building of new temples. A fragmentary inscription found in the *Purana Qilu* of Delhi and written in Persian and Sanskrit, records the endowment of twelve *bighas* of land to a temple erected and dedicated to Sri Krishna². More conclusive is the evidence furnished by Firoz Tughluq of the erection of new temples in the neighbourhood of Delhi during his predecessors' rule. "The Hindus and idol worshippers . . . had erected new temples in the city and environs". "In the village of Maliah there is a tank where they had built idol-temples, and on certain days the Hindus were accustomed to proceed on horseback, wearing arms . . . They assembled in thousands and performed idol-worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the bazaar people took out all sorts of provisions, set up stalls and sold their goods"³. Firoz admits that similar idol-houses had been erected and regularly worshipped in the villages of Salihpur and Kohana⁴. In Etah have been discovered three images of the Jaina sect with dated records of their installation in the year V.S. 1335/1278 A.D.⁵. The following admission by Firoz Khalji would clearly prove the religious freedom the Hindus enjoyed even in the

¹ It was visited and described in 1666 by the French traveller Thevenot. Cunningham: *Reports*, V, pp. 114-119.

² *ASR*, 1909-10, p. 131.

³ *Fatuhāt-i-Firozshahi*, f. 302b; Elliot, III, p. 380-81.

⁴ *Futuhāt*, f. 302b.

⁵ *ASR*, 1923-24, p. 92.

capital. "Every day the Hindus . . . pass below my palace beating cymbals and blowing conch-shells to perform idol-worship on the banks of the Jumna . . . While my name is being read in the *khutba* as the defender of Islam, these enemies of God and His prophet, under my very eyes, are proudly displaying their riches and live ostentatiously among the Muslims of my capital. They beat their drums and other musical instruments and perpetuate their pagan practices"¹.

It would of course be an overstatement to suggest that the Memeluke king maintained a perfectly impartial attitude towards Hinduism; the state's indifference to the people's religion is a principle that even in the twentieth century is not universally practised. But the Turk was a materialist; he served his religion only to the extent upto which his material interest carried him. Alauddin Khalji's famous reply to *qazi* Mughisuddin that he judged his actions solely by the criterion of expediency, typifies also the Memeluke king's attitude. It was a matter of policy for Balban to talk of exterminating the enemies of the religion of Muhammad, for in actual practice, as Barani tells, us, he looked only to the state's interest².

Guided solely by this political interest the Turk commenced his rule by a judicious compromise with the 'infidel' and his habits. The Memeluke coinage is perhaps the best illustration of this compromise. The reproduction of the figure of the goddess in Muizzuddin's gold issue indicates the extent to which the conquerors were prepared to compromise their religious ideas with the demands of state. In agrarian practice the conquest meant no sharp cleavage with the past

¹ Barani, p. 217.

² *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.

and the services of the ancient village officers were retained and utilised. The Brahmin still enjoyed sanctity and was, as has been noticed above, allowed to retain his privileged position and exemptions in the matter of payment of the poll-tax. The Hindu's social practices, even when they were repugnant to the laws of humanity, were permitted. The amount of civil liberty enjoyed by him is indicated by Ibn Battuta's account of the widow-burning, a practice which the state merely tried to regulate by requiring the party to obtain a written permit from the local executive officer who sent his men to ensure that no force was employed on the woman¹.

Proselytization seems to have little interested the rulers. They were preoccupied with great problems of security and large scale conversions effected by official force would have resulted in an unwelcome falling off of the revenues. Even in the propagandist writings of the early chroniclers who exultingly describe the great number of "infidels sent to hell and "the purgation of idolatry," not a single reference is found to forced conversions². Ferishta mentions the conversion of the Khokar tribe brought about by Muizzuddin's promise of preferential treatment; but this cannot be substantiated, for the tribe is invariably described by the contemporary writers as "infidels" to even as late as 1246³. Firoz Tughluq

¹ *Rahlah*, II, p. 16.

² See for example *Tajul Maasir*, ff. 126, 162, 175, the conquest of Kol and the raid into Anhilwara, where "fifty thousand infidels were put to the sword; in Kalinjar "fifty thousand came into the collar of slavery". Cf. on this last incident, Ferishta, I, p. 63 who states that they were all converted to Islam; but Hasan Nizami is explicit in stating that they were allowed to evacuate the fortress and go free; f. 174b.

³ See for example Fakhre Mudir: *Tarikh*, p. 28; Minhaj speaks of operations against them in 1204 as a holy war; p. 124. In 1246, they are again referred to as infidels; p. 290. On this point cf. Arnold: *Preaching of Islam*, p. 258 and Vaidya: *Downfall of Hindu India*, III, p. 130. See also App. C.

stands almost alone in utilising the state's authority for the propagation of orthodox Islam, for the spread of the faith has a different story and did not always receive state co-operation. It is the story of the missionary saints who relied on their own efforts and scorned the king's sanction in presenting Islam to the *zimmi* in its most acceptable form¹. They worked single-handed and against stiff opposition from the Brahmins and other higher classes of the Hindu society; even when they lived in Muslim administered areas they commanded little of the state's sanction. In Narnaul, in the Patiala state, a missionary named Muhammad was murdered by the local Hindus who rose in a body and massacred all the Mussalmans of the place². Of the method of these preachers Amir Hasan's anecdotes relating to Nizamuddin Budauni seems to give us an idea. A Mussulman one day brought a certain Hindu to the saint and introduced him as his brother. On being asked whether the Hindu was inclined towards Islam, the Mussalman replied that he hoped the august look of the saint might have the desired effect on him. Nizamuddin remarked "this people will hardly yield to force or persuasion; only a sympathetic intercourse might incline them to Islam"³.

¹ On the missionary activities of the saints, see Arnold: *Preaching of Islam*, pp. 280-82. Fariduddin Shakrgunj is said to have converted quite a number of tribes in the Punjab. A saint named Sakhi Sarwar is universally venerated in Jullundhur and Hoshiarpur districts; his tomb is at Deru Ghazi Khan; see *Jhang District Settlement Report*, 1874, p. 33; *Montgomery District Settlement Report*, 1878, pp. 44, 46. *Hoshiarpur Settlement Report*, 1879, pp. 31-32; *Jullundur Settlement Report*, 1892, p. 30. See also *Akhbarul Akhbar*, pp. 22-24, for the account of Muinuddin Sanjari's activities in Ajmer; his conversions before the conquest are recounted in *Or.* 1756, ff. 66-67. and 69a. See also *Or.* 1746, f. 29a, for his conversion of the first batch of Hindus in Delhi. For the account of Jalaluddin Tabrezi in Bengal see *Siarul Arefa*, f. 193. He died in 1245 and his tomb at Maldah has since become a universally venerated shrine. See also the interesting Sanskrit work called *Sheka-subhodaya*, Eng. introduction. The saint is described as visiting Lakshmana Sena's court who, impressed by his character, gave him some lands; one of the king's courtiers accepted Islam.

² *Akhbarul Akhbar*, p. 47.

³ *Fawadul Fawaid*, f. 94b.

Of the economic and social status of the *zimmi* who lived in Muslim towns the quotation from Firoz Khalji's speech will have given a fair idea. There is little supporting evidence for the statement recently made that Hindu pilgrimage was sought to be banned by the imposition of a tax¹, or that public worship of idols was, as a rule, forbidden. In only one sphere the *zimmi's* freedom, it may be reasonably assumed, was affected; he was not allowed to make converts from among the Muslims for, in Islam, the law of apostacy is severe. But this would be only a theoretical restriction, for except in the case of lower class converts who, in any case, tend to drift back to their original religious habits, Brahminical Hinduism is not a proselytising religion. Of the Hindu's economic affluence we have testimony in writings of Barani himself. During the gay reign of Kaiqubad the Hindu wine brewers of Kol and Meerut plied a lucrative trade in the city. The Multani money-lenders who held almost every Muslim noble as his debtor enjoyed great social prestige². Barani complained that in the city of Delhi the Hindus lived in palaces and displayed rich dress and fine horses; they even employed "Mussalman servants to runs in front of their mounts; even Muslims beg at their doors, and within the city, the capital of the Muslim Sultanate, the infidels are addressed in such honourable terms as *raharah*, *thakur*, *shah*, *mehta* and *pundit*"³. Referring possibly to Muhammad b. Tughluq's reign in which the Hindus were specially patronised by the king, Barani further complains of "the idolaters and *mushriks*, called *kharaji* and *zimmi*, who are given rich dresses, horses, and flags and are raised to high offices of state"⁴.

¹ Sharma: *Religious policy of the Mughal Emperors*, pp 26.

² Barani, pp. 120, 157.

³ *Fatawa-i Jahandari*, f. 120a. ⁴ *Ibid*, 120b.

Of the Hindus being appointed to such offices in the 13th century contemporary writings afford not many instances, but such as have escaped the chroniclers are sufficiently revealing. That Hindu State-employment. mercenaries formed part of the army perhaps needs little proof. In an inscription written in Sanskrit found in Batiagarh, Central Provinces, reference is found to the employment, under the Muslim governor "Jallal Khoja" of the Chedi country on behalf of the king of Joginipura, of the "Kharpara" army, identifiable with a local Hindu militia mentioned in earlier Hindu inscriptions of the locality¹. Under this Jallal Khoja are mentioned Hindu officers, and the inscription, which is dated in 1328, records the construction, by these local officers, of a garden, *gomatha* and a well for local needs. An auditor sent by the revenue ministry of Alauddin Khalji to check the accounts of the governor of Manikpur, complains, in a letter to the *mustaufi*, of the disobedient manners of a high Hindu official named Buchand who, in conspiracy with the governor, had tampered with the local accounts and misappropriated the surplus revenue². The exclusive racialism which actuated the Memelukes to reserve the governmental posts for the Turks would allow, it is true, not much scope to the Hindu for appointment in the administration, but nevertheless we come across such names as that of Rajani, Hathiya, and Birnathan in the annals of the later Memelukes, holding not insignificant posts in the capital; the last named was the *kotwal*, possibly of Delhi, early in Firoz Khalji's reign³.

Evidences suggest that the Hindu, at least in the capital and its neighbourhood, suffered from no great

¹ *EI*, XII, p. 44; *JRAS*, 1897, p. 893.

² *Ijas-i-Khusrawi*, ff. 107b-110a.

³ *TM*, p. 57; *Barani*, p. 210.

disability; His wealth would indeed give him high social prestige. Matrimonial relations apart¹, the Muslim eventually was bound to get over his exclusiveness and the latter half of the century saw him adopting some of the Hindu's ways. Among the city population the social intercourse must have been fairly close. Amir Khusrau, perhaps, illustrates the new Muslim attitude when he takes pride in his being a born *Hindui* and declares in no ambiguous terms the superiority of India over all other countries². We hear of Hindu *jogis* and Muslim mystics freely mixing to discuss religious and social problems; Amir Hasan has preserved for us an account of one such discussion in which Faridduddin Shakargunj took part³. The incident, recorded of Firoz Tughluq's reign, of Muslim men and women visiting the house of a certain Hindu of Delhi who initiated them into pagan religious practices, implies a social intercourse that must have had its beginning in the later part of the 13th century⁴. This contact was, as is generally conceded, the basic factor in the evolution of the Urdu language whose earliest poetic specimens are to be found in the writings of Amir Khusrau⁵. A similar mixing of the two people produced the Indo-Muslim architecture whose initial phase is represented by the buildings erected by the Memeluke Sultans.

The best evidence on the *zimmi's* position should

¹ An early instance is the marriage of Mangbarni with the Khokar princess; Juwaini, II, p. 145.

² See Mirza: *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, pp. 182-88.

³ *Fawadul Fawaid*, f. 125a.

⁴ *Aff*, p. 370.

⁵ See Muhammad Husain Azad: *Ab-i-Hayat*, pp. 70-77, for some of his Hindi writings; See also Mirza; *op. cit.* page 227-28; also *Khusrau Ka Hindi Kavita*. Indication of the mutual borrowings in language is furnished by Minhaj using the Indian month of *Asor*; p. 252. The Persian terms of *Pil* and *Dabin* seem to have been used by the Hindus; see *JDL*, XVI, p. 35.

however be his own writings. These are almost non-existent except the records of his hostile military contact. What he thought of his own

Hindu opinion
of Muslim rule.

position under the new regime we can only guess. Initially for a conquered people it is only natural, as al-Beruni found early in the 11th century¹, to have a feeling of inveterate enmity towards those whose process of conquest had unavoidably to be attended with a certain measure of destruction of life and property, and above all, social values. That the innate exclusiveness of Hinduism would only aggravate this feeling and that the Hindu would, in proud isolation, retire within his caste restrictions, is understandable; to consider the conqueror as an unclean, fearsome *mleccha* is the only manner in which a beaten people could retaliate. But the measure of the conqueror's success lies in the extent to which he is able to assuage this bitterness and ultimately to win the native's sympathy and support. Of this, unfortunately, we have not many dependable records, records of the ordinary native's estimate of the Muslim ruler and his administration, as we have of latter periods and of other provincial kingdoms. The ruling class at any rate did their best not to create any further bitterness but the protracted nature of the conquest could have hardly made for success in this attempt. To a modern citizen, the *jazia* would be undoubtedly an insufferable humiliation but argument is possible as to whether this was so to the people of the early middle ages². The Brahmins' protest to Firoz Tughluq was based more on its financial burden than on its implied insult³. A

¹ Alberuni's India, tr. by E. Sachau, I, p. 22.

² If the *Turushkadanda* is interpreted as meaning a poll tax on the Turks living in the Gahadwala kingdom the tax must have been familiar to the Indians. Some kind of poll-tax was realised in the Byzantine empire also.

³ *Id.*, pp. 88-89.

remarkable inscription of Balban's reign, put up in Sanskrit by a Hindu individual, however, depicts the Muslim king in a pleasing light. Although allowance should be made for the conventional phraseology of a Sanskrit panegyrist composing a dedicatory inscription in a Muslim dominion, yet the sentiments have an unmistakable sincerity and genuine respect. In the Palam inscription, which is dated in 1280-1, the king of Joginipura is compared, in the goodness of his administration, with Vishnu who "has retired from the care of the world (entrusting it to the king) and gone to sleep in the ocean of milk"; the king "has ensured peace and security to all and throughout his contented realm . . . everywhere the earth bears the beauty of sylvan spring". In another inscription, dated in the reign of Alauddin Khalji, at Jodhpur, the Hindu author pays tribute to the king's just and efficient government through whose god like valour the earth was rid of all tyranny and impurities². A literary work of a slightly later period, that of the famous poet Vidyapati, speaks appreciatively of the Turushka king's generosity and sense of justice³.

It appears necessary, in connection with the position of the non-Muslims, to dispel the impression that a superficial reading of some of the early chronicles is apt to create. Reference has been made to the writers' habit of straining after effect. Hasan Nizami is merely poetic; so is also Amir Khusrau. But Barani deliberately inflicts his own fanaticism on the reigns he describes. He wrote his account, it should be remembered, from the reactionary point of view of the 14th century, when under Firoz, militant, narrow Islamism, for the first time found state support. It is mostly his personal

Misleading
chroniclers,

¹EIM, 1913-14, pp. 35-45.

²EI, XII, p. 23.

³*Purusha Pariksha*, Grierson's introduction, cited in Qureshi, *op. cit.* p. 218.

opinion representing a very small but articulate section of Muslims that he puts forth as the views of Balban and Iltutmish. While he tries to persuade his readers that Balban was intensely orthodox and a great legalist, he cannot help admitting that in matters of state the Sultan never cared for the dictates of the *Shariah*. In his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, Barani formulates his own views on government and these are remarkably similar to those which Balban and Iltutmish are stated to have held; in almost identical language he pleads for the extirmination of the idolatrous Hindus and Muslim heretics which, from his *Tarikh*, would appear as accomplished facts¹. How intolerant was his outlook will be seen from the manner in which he urges the complete annihilation of the Muslim philosophers and free-thinkers with the same fervour and zeal as expended in the case of the 'infidels' and *mushriks*: "How can piety and righteousness be established when philosophers, and heretics (*bad-mazhaban*), who prefer Greek rationalism to tradition and the *Shariah*, and who disbelieve the physical existence of heaven and hell, are allowed to openly spread their doctrines? How can the religion of God triumph when these people, the enemies of God and His prophet, live in the capital with dignity and ostentation and are not afraid to express their views"². It is a singular misfortune from which the history of Islam has suffered in all ages and in many countries, that the historians almost always belonged to the small reactionary group of men who, being the only lettered class, were in a position to inflict their own prejudices on posterity³.

¹ Cf. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, pp. 42 and 72 with his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, ff. 118-20.

² *Ibid.*, f. 120a.

³ On this point see *Revaluation of the pre-Mughul literary sources in Islamic Culture*, June, 1940.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SULTANATE IN RETROSPECT

The rapidity with which the Turks overran the whole of north India within a period of less than 15 years was phenomenal. In the western provinces the easy establishment of Muizzuddin's rule has an Invaders' easy success. Causes. apparent explanation, for there, from the dawn of history, incursions from Central Asia had heavily diluted the people's racial and religious consciousness; the Ghaznawide and Shansabani attacks encountered little beyond mere political opposition. But in Hindusthan, which had known not many foreign invasions and dynasties, powerful kingdoms were overthrown with equal ease; even the Hindushahiyas of Waihind, under Anandpal and Triclochanpal, offered more sustained opposition to Mahmud of Ghazni. That defeat in a single battle should have been final and irreparable appears all the more strange when we remember the limited number of the conquerors and the distance from their homeland. On a careful analysis of the situation in India the course of events, however, appears almost inevitable.

The Hindu kingdoms, it has been observed in an earlier part of this book, engaged in ceaseless warfare among themselves almost as a hobby. The Chauhana, Internecine warfare. the Chandella, the Gahvala and also the Sena rulers, fought for paramountcy and territorial aggrandisement at each other's cost, and so one's discomfiture at the hands of a foreign enemy was considered another's

advantage. Victory in such wars did not lead to any increase of fighting potential for, usually, all that the victor demanded was a recognition of his paramountcy; and the vanquished felt at liberty to join any of the belligerents in the next war. Thus, instead of gaining any positive advantage they merely frittered away their resources. How great was this waste in men can be estimated when we remember that the Hindu soldier was drawn almost exclusively from one class of the population. Among themselves, the Rajput kings were generally evenly matched in fighting strength but against a foreigner, not bound by any professional caste-rules, they could bring forth an equal number of men only by straining their entire fighting personnel. Owing to their unshakeable belief in numerical superiority they usually brought out their entire army and thus staked everything on the fortunes of a single battle. Their sense of honour forbade retreat; soldiers were either taken prisoner or perished in battle. A single defeat thus became a lasting catastrophe.

In individual fighting qualities the Rajput nearly surpassed the Turk, but he was a poor organiser. The feudatories fought more for individual glory than for wider issues of the contest. Only the king could hold the mutually jealous and ambitious troop-leaders together and when he fell in battle, all was lost. In fighting methods also, the Rajput showed a singularly unprogressive military talent. He depended on the weight of numbers rather than on mobility and tactics. A solid, almost unwieldy phalanx, arranged according to a stereotyped formation was his usual battle-array, with archers carried on elephants and also on foot drawn up in front. His mass frontal attacks were weighty

Unprogressive
fighting methods

and difficult to stand, but his cavalry could accomplish little in the serried ranks. The elephant was considered a mighty arm, and, accordingly, the field of battle had to be a level ground, for uneven soil would place it at a disadvantage. Such a ground however, was precisely where the Turk could put his cavalry to the best use, for, enclosed, mountainous terrain hampered its freedom of manoeuvre; Muizzuddin's defeat and Aibak's hesitation at Kayadra below Abu, in front of the Chalukya forces, are cases in point. The Turk initially possessed no elephants; he charged with the cavalry whose impetuosity broke the Hindu phalanx and would often turn the elephants against their own ranks. The Rajput made little provision against an attack from the flank or rear; as the cavalry broke through his lines and put the archers out of action, a body of light-armed horse wheeling round the flank at the crucial moment decided the contest.

A defeat in such circumstances is scarcely surprising. Hope of further resistance lay in the fortresses and in organising countrywide opposition by the people. The former method, however, has one disadvantage; being purely defensive in nature, leaving the conqueror, as it does, free to exploit the countryside and therefore able to organise repeated attacks, it could have only a temporary value. Rarely did the Hindu princes take the offensive, but they bastirred themselves only when the enemy appeared before the stronghold. What a forward policy could achieve is shown by the Mher and Chalukya forces when they defeated Aibak and sent him flying for refuge in Ajmer. Another example is afforded by the siege of Lakhnauti by Narasinha of Orissa. Ejection of the invader was possible only by the sustained and united application of such offensive policy. But unity

Defensive attitude.

of purpose never inspired the Rajput; towards the end of the century the Chauhanas achieved notable success by continued offensive, but they fought only for military glory; they gloried equally in defeating the Baghelas of Gujrat and the Paramaras of Malwa.

In a country of incessant wars the bulk of the people tend to become callous to the fortunes of battles or dynasties. National consciousness, Peoples' indifference, as a compelling factor leading to sustained work, was as lacking in the people as in their rulers; they looked on with equal unconcern as their king humbled another king or went down before an invader. No common tie bound the people with the ruling dynasty; a foreign invasion meant only one of the many incessant dynastic changes that left the people no better or worse off.

This indifference on the face of a Muslim enemy seems to have had other causes also. As a Muslim the Turk was a new comer to Hindusthan but racially he was not. As a pagan kinsman of the Hunas and the Sakas he had many Racial sympathies. centuries' contact with India. He had come as a trader and as a settler. His language, manners and social distinctions, much of which he retained even after his conversion to Islam, added to the complexity of medieval Hindu society but they also prepared the way for his eventual appearance in the role of a conqueror. To the people of north India the Turk's lightly-borne Islam could not conceal the familiar visitor, in whom some of the Rajputs could even see a distant kinsman¹. Hindu India therefore contained elements whose intensity of opposition to the invaders was liable to be qualified by racial sympathies.

A resuscitated Brahmanism, which characterised the

¹ On the Turkish immigrants in India, see Bagchi: *Role of Central Asian Nomads in the History of India*, in *JGIS*, X, pp. 133-34.

religious history of Rajput India, gave a militant aspect to Hindu society but at the same time, by its persecutions, alienated the Buddhists. They were outcasted and driven out from all parts of India to find refuge in Nepal.

Religious
persecutions.

We have no direct evidence, as we have for the Arab occupation of Sind, but it is highly probable that the despised Buddhists and the lower classes of the country viewed with no great sorrow the disaster that befell the Brahminical dynasties.

Like all foreign invaders the Turks followed a line that was calculated to offer the least resistance and yet enable them to live on the land. The first push carried

Extent of
conquered area.

them into the Central Provinces, the Himalayan regions, Southern Rajputana and even Assam. But they succeeded in establishing a durable hold only on a narrow belt of land along the Ganges and the Jumna while the Indus and its branches outlined their dominion in the northwest. The hold on Rajputana was never strong and towards the end of the century they were practically thrown out of the country. The Turkish dominion thus embraced a very small part of north India but it contained the most fertile regions, which explains the foreigners' continued ability to resist the determined hostility of the Hindu states and also of the all-conquering Mongols.

Within this restricted area, the conquest took nearly a whole century to consolidate. Petty Hindu chiefs defied the Delhi government; Muslim colonization was vigorously resisted, and the fighting class were easily led to revolt by any

Incomplete
conquest.

enterprising chief, Hindu or Muslim. The organization of the administration was far from complete at the end

of the century, though the military nature of the occupation disappeared as the first immigrants were replaced by those born in India and speaking Indian vernaculars and having an interest in the country. The Mongols did a great deal in indianising the Turks, for India became their last refuge and this they defended with the tenacity of a people defending their homeland. If the Sultanate was originally an alien imposition it soon became thoroughly Indian in purpose, struggling, as India has struggled many a time in her history, against a barbaric invader. The Turkish Muslims in resisting the Mongols were guarding India's gate and, like the Hindushahiyas and the Chauhanas, could claim gratitude of the Indian princes.

The state that the conquest brought into being was of a peculiar composition. In its outlook tribal polity combined with the divinely appointed monarchy. To

The state,
an ideological
complex.

Indian theories this was a little peculiar, for there, a king ruled either by divine choice or by a contractual delegation of powers; in either case, in effect, he became a person above the society¹. But to the Turk the kingdom was a joint property and every one had a proprietary share in it. In this any khan² was eligible for the throne if he could satisfy other conditions, for example, of fitness, and legitimacy; Kashlu Khan's attempt to assume the crown provides an illustration of the fact that this was actually practised. Because the Turks were losing their share in the administration of their kingdom

¹ See Bhandarkar: *Some Aspects of Indian Polity*, pp. 125-168; also Ghoshal: *Hindu Political theories*, pp. 170-89, 269-78.

² Even in Ibn Battuta's time the khan was the highest dignitary below the king; *Bahlah*, I, p. 107.

the *wazir* Muhazzabuddin was murdered; in fact the racial character of the Memeluke state arose from this deep rooted habit of political thought. How materially this share in the kingdom helped the individual members of the race is seen from a passage in the contemporary writing of Fakhruddin Mubarakshah. "Even a poor householder, who did not possess a single slave, became" as a result of Muizzuddin's great conquest "the owner of numerous slaves, horses and camels; a man who originally owned only one horse, became a *sipahsalar* and possessed a kettle-dum, standard, *naubat*, all of his own"¹.

There was however, another aspect to this polity. By the time the Turks came to live and rule in India, they had been largely influenced by the political and cultural ideals of Persia. They turned to the ancient kings like Jamshed, Khusrau and Bahram for guidance in political affairs rather than to the Muslim law. Autocracy, the keynote of Persia's political system, thus found its devotees in Delhi; the elective Imam was nearly forgotten and, in his place, the Sultan ruled by a right that could never be questioned. He was God's chosen and appointed by him to rule over mankind. Absolute obedience to him was tantamount to obedience to God². If the person of the Sultan was not infallible, his office was certainly above all human failings. All the people were his slaves and he, the master of their person and property. Early in the 13th century a writer defined the people's position *vis-a-vis* the king. "It was not open to the Muslims to exercise their right of choosing the *Imam*; they were simply to carry out his orders, even if he was a negro, or a slave and mutilated in form"³. Obedience

¹ Fakhra Mudir: *Tarikh*, p. 20.

² *Ibid*, p. 12.

³ *Ibid*, p. 13; see also *Adabul Harb*, f. 8b.

to his orders was a *farz*, and the Sultan, if not a God himself, was "the shadow of God on earth"¹. His person was consequently regarded as sacred and whenever the chronicler has any occasion to refer to him, the term 'sacred' or 'august' is invariably used². Barani even describes Firoz Taghluq as a God in human form and compares his court to that of "Allah attended by Gabriel and other angels"³.

In this sacredness, however, the king's children did not share, and to that extent the theory of divine monarchy was imperfectly practised in India.

The son of the reigning king, even his heir apparent, was only one of his courtiers⁴. The Sultan's authority was unquestionable but the right of his descendent to a similar authority was not necessarily conceded. In other words, the monarch's unquestioned right to obedience could not be made inherent in his dynasty but had to be acquired in every individual case. The absence of a law of primogeniture was another qualifying factor in the development of a dynastic absolutist kingship, for the *Shariah* allots an equal share to all the sons. A Muslim king's rightful heirs were usually many and in a position to assert their claims; even nomination by the deceased monarch could hardly decide the choice. Succession became still more complicated by the fact that slaves also were regarded as the master's heirs, though, usually, the descendents of his body were conceded priority. Despite the crown's almost superhuman status, its undefined methods of transfer thus tended to hamper its perpetuation.

¹ Fakhre Mudir; *Tarikh*, p. 13. Also Minhaj, p. 205.

² e.g., Minhaj, pp. 167, 176.

³ Barani, p. 578; *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 199a.

⁴ Iltutmish's sons are listed among his courtiers, Minhaj, p. 177. So are those of Balban and Firoz Khalji; Barani, pp. 24 and 176.

This clearly un-Islamic sovereignty was not confined to the theorists but found concrete expression in the court etiquette and in the Sultan's absolutism. We have referred to Balban's court ceremonials and to the *zaminbos* and *paibos* system on whose unfailing observance he laid great emphasis; these were a recognised feature even in the time of his predecessors. Such assumption of divine honours did not always go unprotested; a leading ecclesiastic in Iltutmish's court condemned, in no ambiguous terms, all these practices which, he said, clearly amounted to *shirk* (denial of God's unity). But that such protests could always be circumvented is shown by the fact that the same divine was prepared to accord sanction to these practices only if the king tried to act up to what he called the four essential duties of *dinpanahi* (preservation of the Faith) one of which was the suppression of heresy¹.

On the face of it such absolutism was irreconcilable with the tribal polity mentioned above. A strong man like Iltutmish, who owed his accession to the fact of his being the most influential of the Turkish chiefs after Aibak, was able to resist the assertion of the latter principle. His militarist policy helped him to divert the energy of his compatriots, and all opposition was, for the time being, hushed, when eminent princes came flying from the Mongols to find refuge in his kingdom. The Caliphial investiture clothed his autocracy with legal sanction and he was able to reserve the monarchy for his family. But to continue his dynasty after his death required the constant support of a party. This he sought to create through his slaves who thus introduced a third political factor and gave a characteristic name to the period. A

¹ Barani, p. 41; *Fatawa-i-Johandari*, f. 45a; see also Amir Khusrau *Kulliyat*, f. 221; also Barani, p. 142.

slave was potentially more loyal to his master than his sons¹. As Lanepoole has observed, the slave was a surer investment than a son whose claim to inheritance was not based on efficiency². A large progeny was not favourable to a king's interest, while a number of tried and efficient slaves having no other interest than to serve the master's family, was a sure asset³. Iltutmish had no illusions about the capacity of his sons and the only way to counteract the opposite tendency seemed to lie in organising his personal retainers into a party who would stand by his family and thereby uphold his absolutist monarchy. Like the Muizzi and Qutbi slaves, the Shamsi slaves were thus allowed to form themselves into a political group which, after his death, received the collective name of the "Forty"⁴. By absorbing or destroying the adherents of former kings they were enabled to reign supreme after his death; in the language of Barani, "they divided the kingdom amongst themselves"⁵.

Thus there came into being a curious political phenomenon, a party of bondsmen pledged to support the power of the master's family who considered the state a vast household in which outsiders could have no place. The Sultanate was converted into a kind of household polity. On behalf of their master's heir they managed the state and considered themselves the sole custodians of Iltutmish's tradition. His degenerate successors could at any time have been supplanted, as indeed they were by

¹ See Muizzuddin's reply to his courtier who once expressed regret at the king's having no son, Minhaj, p. 132.

² *Medieval India*, p. 64.

³ See Barani, p. 150 how Balban explained to his heir-apparent the dangers of having a large family.

⁴ Barani, p. 26; Barani and Minhaj's account however include more than forty names among Iltutmish's slaves.

⁵ Barani, p. 28.

Balban; but so long as the party remained, personal jealousy and fear of raking up general hostility among other Turks, compelled the Forty to keep, even though as puppets, Iltutmish's children on the throne; for their sole *raison d'être* was loyalty to his family. This household party thus contributed in no small measure to the growth of monarchy for it kept alive a dynasty. But, almost equally, it affected the state's natural evolution, for under this system the state could derive strength and support, not from the general body of the people, nor even of the Turks, but only from a few, though influential, retainers of the founder of the dynasty. It also circumscribed the Crown.

With Balban's appointment as the *naib*, however, this phase in the state's evolution began to wane, for, although Mahmud's elevation was calculated to ensure the continuance of this household system, in actual practice, it marked the beginning of its end. Balban shared in Iltutmish's political ideals but not in his methods of buttressing the Crown's absolutism by household slaves. Nor did he favour Raziah's methods of counter-balancing the 'Forty' by non-Turkish supporters. During his long tenure of the *niyabat* he completely broke the party and restored the Crown's power. His own accession to Mahmud's throne confirmed the final dissolution of the Shamsi party. In its place, he aimed at creating a broader basis for the state in the person of the whole body of the Turkish immigrants. In so doing, he no doubt emphasised the clannish character of the Sultanate but the unprecedentedly autocratic powers which he assumed for the crown, prevented its growth into a rival political force. The new party consisting of all the Turks necessarily shared in Balban's ideals and was irrevocably committed to upholding his dynasty as re-

Balban's state; a party based despotism.

presenting the racial despotism. Clannish loyalties were thus skilfully harnessed to the service of absolutist monarchy. How this racialism proved unworkable and led to a revolution has been noticed in the relevant chapter, but the monarchy came out unscathed from the disorder, to be utilised by the Khaljis to usher in a new phase in the Sultanate's development.

A word may be said about the slave-king, a social anachronism. In Islam the potentialities of a slave are many, for except in name, he suffered little visible social disability. A bondslave, wearing

The slave king.

a crown was, besides, not a peculiarly Muslim phenomenon; the Byzantine history also affords a number of instances. But, correctly, the Turkish wearers of the crown in 13th century India can hardly be designated as slaves, for every one of them died a free man. Aibak alone was technically a slave when he assumed power at Lahore; but he lost no time in obtaining manumission from his master's heir, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud¹. Iltutmish obtained his freedom quite early, even before Aibak had obtained his own². Freedom undoubtedly was an asset, though not the main qualification, and there were formalist lawyers whom it was prudent to satisfy, for it was they who would be expected to proclaim the ruler's name from the pulpit as 'the defender of the Faith' and 'the Lord Protector of Muslims. In the ceremony of oath-taking on Iltutmish's accession, before the assembled people had sworn allegiance, the lawyers, we are told by Ibn Battuta, "entered the monarch's presence and sat down". 'The Sultan knew what they wanted to speak about, and so he raised the corner of the carpet on

¹ *Aif*, f. 529b. According to Minhaj both Aibak and Yalduz were manumitted together in about 605/1208; p. 89-90.

² On the recommendation of Muizzuddin himself Aibak gave him freedom in 601/1205; Minhaj, p. 170.

which he was sitting, and presented to them the deed of his manumission. The *qazis* and the lawyers read it and then took the oath of allegiance"¹. We have no explicit mention of Balban's manumission but it is more than probable that his close family ties with the ruling house had procured his freedom.

The chronicles tend to give us an impression that the Sultanate was a truly Islamic state, constantly striving to make its policy conformable to the *Shariah*. That

A secular state. it was scarcely so in actual practice, will have been gathered from the last few chapters. We have noticed the un-Islamic character of the kingship; Barani admits that *duniyadari*, of which kingship is the highest perfection, is absolutely opposed to *dindari*². After tracing the process by which the pagan institution of monarchy had crept into Islam, he concludes that sovereignty is never possible without practising non-Islamic customs³. Conscientious ecclesiastics might delude themselves that the Sultan really existed for protecting the Faith and upholding the *Shariah*; but it requires little stressing that the decisive factor in his actions was the law of force and expediency. In summing up his account of the origin and nature of kingship Barani remarks "the meaning of kingship is possession (*istilā*), whether by lawful means or by force; even the older pagan law of dynastic legitimacy finds no place in the present kingship"⁴. The *Shariah*, in ordinary practice, was no more respected than any other law. Barani admits that capital punishment of Muslims which, he adds, was contrary to the Sacred Law, was necessary for the exigen-

¹ *Bahlah*, II, p. 25.

² *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 159a.

³ *Ibid*, f. 100a.

⁴ *Ibid*, ff. 214a and 225a.

cies of better government¹. Similarly the law of inheritance, the strict distinction between *halal* and *haram*, and many other well-known injunctions were violated; the ecclesiastics protested but were constrained to find excuse. The well-known prohibition of the *Shariah* regarding the taking and giving of interest on monetary transactions was openly disregarded; Amir Khusrau mentions the rate of interest at one *jital* per month for the principal sum of one *tankah*² which, when agreed upon by the parties on a written bond, had a legal sanction and was enforced by the *qazi*³. Of the four conditions which Barani advises the king to bear in mind when issuing decrees (*zabitah*), one is, that if any of the proposed ordinances is found contrary to the *Shariah*, it need not be withdrawn but, as an evil necessity, to be retained not longer than is necessary⁴.

Even the majority of the *ulema*, the guardians of the sacred law, was utterly materialistic in outlook and opportunist in conduct. They entered into an unholy alliance with the secular authorities and by distorting the rules of the *Shariah*, found sanction for the Sultan's pagan practices. Even traditions from the Prophet were concocted to give the king's despotism a moral backing. They held out that the Sultan's office was only slightly inferior to that of the Prophet and his sanctity almost equalled that of God⁵. To suit the Sultan's convenience his religious duties were sought to be confined to such matters as leading the prayers, making endowment for the *ulema* and religious estab-

The *ulema*; an unholy alliance.

¹ *Ibid*, f. 147a; also Barani, p. 511.

² *Kaliyat*, p. 312; See also *Makani Anwar*, p. 150, for the existence of Muslim money-lenders.

³ *Forishta*, I, p. 95.

⁴ *Patawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 150a.

⁵ An example is the saying "if there were no Sultan the people would devour each other"; See Fakhre Mudir: *Tarikh*, pp. 12-13.

ishments and dispensing justice, while the most flagrant breaches of the *Shariah* rules like drinking, non-observance of the fast etc. were condoned'. The *ulcma* even authorised him to appropriate the people's wealth whenever he desired².

The *ulcma* had thus become utterly servile and unprincipled. The abject flattery with which both Minhaj and Barani refer to their respective patrons and the eulogies showered on them have a disgusting obsequiousness. They even lacked the elementary moral virtues.

'Ignorant
hypocrites.'

Balban complained of their want of truthfulness and courage, while Amir Khusrau considered them a gang of 'ignorant hypocrites, conceited and detestably selfish'. This amorality was infectious and even appears to have spread to the common people; Amir Hasan narrates an incident of some Muslim traders from Lahore unscrupulously defrauding the Hindus of Gujrat⁴. It is tempting to ascribe true Islam to the Sultans of the past, but its calculated distortion to serve material ends is not a peculiarly modern phenomenon. Of earnest, saintly men there was, of course, no dearth; the Muslim mystic provides the best example; but, clearly, his was not the power which determined the complexion of society and politics.

¹ *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f.11a. Barani tries to prove the great piety of Mahmud of Ghazni by saying that he never drank so heavily as to be unable to say his prayers.

² *Fiqh-i-Firozshahi*, (I.O. 2987), f. 191-2.

³ Barani, p. 94; *Matlaul Anwar*, p. 69.

⁴ *Fawadul Fawaid*, f. 68b.

APPENDIX A.

BARAN *Firman* OF MUIZZUDDIN MUHAMMAD B. SAM

At my request, Mr. Hasan Barani, advocate of Bulandshahr, U.P., kindly sent the following note, pending the full publication of the document in his possession which, he assures, me will be done at an early date.

“It is dated 588 A.H., evidently soon after the conquest of Delhi. It refers to the capture of Baran (Bulandshahr) by Muhammad Ghorī’s forces on their way to Budauln and bears the conqueror’s *tughra*.”

“It confers the *qaziship* of Baran on Nuruddin, and endows land on Ajaipal Lanba, Chowdhury of Baran who, with his retainers and followers, had embraced Islam and had helped in the conquest. He was named Malik Muhammad Qad Daraz after his conversion”.

On my further enquiry he sent these details:—

“The charter at the top bears the *tughra* of Muizzuddin and also mentions his father’s name as Sami.

Chandrasen is mentioned as an ancestor of Chowdhury Ajaipal.

The position conferred on *qazi* Nuruddin is *hukumat wa riyasat-i-mansab-i-sadarat*, and his subordinates are referred to as *wali*, *muqti*, *karkun*, and *gumashtah*.

The charter relates only to the surrender of Ajaipal and the settlement of land on him and also to the appointment of *qazi* Nuruddin. It does not recount the full story of the capture of Baran”.

APPENDIX B.

SITE OF MUIZZUDDIN'S BATTLE WITH PRITHVIRAJA.

Minhaj calls it Tarain (printed text. p. 118). A slight change in the dots over the first letter would make it Narain in Persian script, and both Ferishta and Nizamuddin Bakshi adopt the latter reading. They however, add that it was near Tarai in the district of Sarsuti (*khitta-i-Sarsuti*); Ferishta says that 'Narain' was also known as Tarawari. On the basis of this latter statement Elphinstone (*History of India* p. 355) places the battle field between Karnal and Thaneswar, evidently identifying Tarain with Azimabad-Tarawari. 14 miles south of Thaneswar; This is accepted in the *Punjab Gazetteer*, (I, p. 318), and by Vaidya (*Down-fall of Hindu India*, III, p. 333) and Raverty, (*trans. Tab. Nas.* p. 459, note 7.)

This identification, however, is untenable. Yahya Sirhindi, (*TM*, p. 8) makes it clear that it was within the '*Khitta*' Sarsuti. If Sarsuti is modern Sirsa, it should evidently be looked for somewhere on the west. It is hardly likely that Muizzuddin would advance so far into Chauhana territory either from Sirhind or from Bhatinda, (according to whether Tabarhindah is to be taken to refer to either of these two places) to meet the fresh troops of Prithviraja whom he seemed to be anxious to avoid on this occasion. Thaneswar is about 80 miles south of Sirhind and 100 miles east, southeast of Bhatinda. We know that he was on the point of starting on his way back to Ghazni, after capturing Bhatinda, when the Rajputs came up and he was forced to give battle. After defeating him,

Prithviraja immediately invested Bhatinda. This would suggest that the battle was fought near the fortress and very possibly to its south. After the second battle fought at the same place, Prithviraja, we are told, was captured as he was flying, near the "limits of Sarsuti" (*hadud*), which is about 100 miles west of Thaneswar or even of Karnal. He would naturally take the shortest route in his flight to his capital. This route from Bhatinda passes through Sirsa, whereas to place the battle field near Thaneswar would mean that he was making a long detour towards the west while flying to pass through Sirsa where, as we know, he was eventually captured. Cunningham's suggestion (*Reports*, XIV, p. 68-69) about the location of Tarain between Bhatinda and Sirsa is more plausible. He identifies it with a village called Torawana, 27 miles from Bhatinda and 20 miles from Sirsa, which clearly would fit the details of the event.

APPENDIX C.

CONVERSION OF THE KHOKARS.

Among the tribes who rose against Muizzuddin in 1206 in the western Punjab was the Khokar, whom Briggs (*trans. Ferishta*, I, p. 183-4) identified with the Gakkar ; this was also done in the *JASB.* (1871, p. 67). The Gakkar however do not come into prominence until the reign of Babur. The error was corrected in the *IA*, (1907, p. 1-7) and also in Rose : *Glossary of the Punjab Tribes and Castes*, (II, p. 54). Raverty also questioned the identification in his *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 367.

Ferishta, I, p. 59-60, in describing the process of the Khokar's conversion to Islam by Muizzuddin, speaks of their former custom of polyandry and female infanticide. This has been unreservedly accepted in the *IA*, (1907, p. 1) as an authenticated detail of the early history "of the essentially Punjab tribe, the Khokars". Raverty, in his *Notes* rightly questioned the story of their conversion but *CHI*, (III, p. 47) still adheres to it. The fact is, that Ferishta who based his account demonstrably on Ibnul Asir, (XII, p. 98) has confused the Khokars under discussion with another trans-Indus tribe inhabiting "the districts of Sankuran and Makran". This tribe or people, whom Ibnul Asir calls the Tirahiah, were also a source of constant trouble to the Mussalmans of Peshawar since the days of Subuktigin. They also rose in rebellion in 1205-6 but were effectively quelled by Yalduz, the governor of the district. It is this tribe to whom Ibnul Asir ascribes the practices of polyandry and female infanticide and

whom Muizzuddin succeeded in converting. Ferishta also mentions the Tirahiah, (p. 60) but wrongly asserts that both the Tirahiah and the Khokar were converted during the campaigns of 1205-6 and adds that upto 1018/1609 they continued to remain Muslims. Ibnul Asir however, speaks of the conversion only of the Tirahiah; the Khokars are invariably described both by Hasan Nizami and Minhaj as infidels. Could Tirahiah be a misreading for the *Siah*, mentioned by Fakhre Mudir as one of the tribes who joined the Khokar rebellion? The 'Siahan', in any case, seems to be the persianised name of the present Sehi tribe listed in Rose: *Glossary of the Punjab Tribes and Castes*, (III, p. 394).

APPENDIX D

ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS OF THE MEMELUKES.

By the 12th century Muslim architecture had acquired a definite style and convention and the Turks came to India with clear ideas about form and also method of construction of buildings. But they had of necessity to rely on native masons and craftsmen to execute their designs. These craftsmen were the inheritors of a beautiful and mature style and so, almost unconsciously, they introduced into Muslim buildings many decorative and architectural details of Indian origin, for they had to rely mostly on their own interpretation of the design and ornamentation.

The Muslims, in turn, introduced many new features also. The native craftsmen, familiar with only the column and flat architrave for roofing, soon got used to the essentially Muslim structural element of the arch and the vault. The slender Hindu spire gave way to the minaret and the dome; in arch construction, the corbelled type was replaced by the more scientific voussoir system. Finally, the more extensive use of concrete and mortar made it possible to roof large spaces, a characteristic feature of Muslim buildings. The Hindu decorative style, made up of floral designs or plastic reliefs, was supplemented with flowing arabesque or geometric patterns, sometimes interwoven by graceful lettering of historical inscriptions or Quranic texts. The introduction of calligraphy in the scheme of architectural ornamentation, was, undeniably, a major contribution.

The Memeluke buildings illustrate the gradual blend-

ing of all these elements. The first building erected by the conquerors on Indian soil was, significantly enough, a mosque, whose lighted and wide spaces sharply contrast the dark, narrow and mysterious temple. The *Quwatul Islam* mosque was commenced in Delhi by Aibak in 592/1195, and finished in 1199. It was admittedly built out of Hindu materials; most of the columns, shafts and capitals were hurriedly adapted to the requirements of a Muslim prayer hall, the sculptural carvings of animate figures being either defaced or concealed by turning them upside down. In this improvisation was symbolised the whole Memeluke history. The mosque actually was raised on the plinth of a temple and, as Marshall has remarked, save for the *mihirabs*, the building has little to indicate its Islamic character; not even the constructional methods show any trace of Muslim influence. Probably to modify this Hindu appearance, Aibak added a screen in front, in which a deliberate introduction of characteristically Muslim designs and ornaments is clearly noticeable. The facade of the arched entrance is enlivened by graceful calligraphic reproduction of Quranic texts, which, however, can hardly conceal the native craftsmen's floral designs. The mosque at Ajmer, erected at about the same time and known as the *Arhai-din-ka-jhonpra*., was also built out of Hindu materials and so betray Hindu features, though its planning and construction was more deliberate than that of its counterpart at Delhi. A more deliberately Muslim structure is the *Qutb Minar*, planned by Aibak sometime before 1199 but completed by Iltutmish. It represents a further stage in the evolution of the Indo-Muslim building art. • The plan—it was evidently meant to serve as a *maazina* and also a tower of victory, —and the form are essentially Islamic, and the native

tradition has less freedom in its constructional details. Its floral designs are clearly dominated by the calligraphy; the vertical flutings on the outer wall and the elaborate corbelling on the balconies are exclusively Muslim decorations.

The tendency betrayed by the *Qutb Minar* is more pronounced in the buildings erected by Iltutmish. It would however seem that the conscious fostering of this tendency to Islamise architecture must date from the end of his reign, for the tomb, known as *Sultan Ghari*, built over the remains of his eldest son who died in 1229, is still found to embody a great deal of native elements and patterns. As the earliest specimen of tomb-building in India, it has a marked difference in its plan from that of any of the subsequent structures. Most of the architectural details, including pillars, capitals and architraves, as well as the decorative *motifs*, are decidedly native in inspiration. Even the arches are built on the Indian corbelled principle. The outward shape of the building is graceless but it has a better harmony of proportion than the tomb of the monarch himself.

His other buildings show a marked increase in Islamic elements. At Delhi, he extended the *Quwatul Islam* mosque, added two wings on either side, and put up a corresponding screen in front. On its facade, Muslim decorative *motifs* dominate Hindu patterns more successfully than they do in that of Aibak. To the *Arhai-din-ka-jhonpra* also, Iltutmish made some additions, notably by raising a similar screen but of different proportions. But the decorations, though dominantly Islamic in effect, do not compare in composite richness with those on his screen at Delhi. Nor is the Ajmer structure impressive in the harmony of form and line. This probably represents Iltutmish's first attempt at artificially stimulating this natural tendency of in-

creased application of Muslim designs and details. The result, judging not only from the Ajmer specimen but also from his own tomb, near the *Quwatul Islam* mosque, was not happy. This building, a four-walled enclosure topped by a dome, is unpretentious in form and dimensions but the interior decorations on the walls, extending from floor to ceiling, are extremely elaborate and unrestrained. They have an effect of almost heavy, vulgar gorgeousness; evidently, the Hindu craftsmen, directed to use exclusively the rich and elaborate patterns of *Naskh*, *Kufi*, and *Tughra* letterings and geometric forms, were bewildered by the variety, and, being unaccustomed to their exclusive application, sacrificed balance to executing their allotted task; only here and there native designs are in evidence but they do little to relieve the monotony of curves, loops and angles. This sudden assertion of the non Indian *motifs* thus resulted in considerable loss of dignity and strength of the Muslim and the picturesque effect of the Hindu styles. Representing the continued application of this policy is the tomb, containing the sepulchre of Balban and his son, Muhammad, built in 1286, in the area known in those days as the *Darul Aman*. It is also purely Muslim in execution but shows a more balanced use of the principles and *motifs*, and thus seems to prove the acclimatization of Muslim designs. It is also marked by the first appearance of the true arch in place of Indian types used in earlier buildings.

Other buildings of the period, erected in the provincial cities follow more or less the same lines of development. Most of them, however, have been repaired and restored so many times subsequently, that their original details have almost entirely disappeared. This is the case with Iltutmish's mosque at Budaun, built in 1223, Balban's mosque at Jalali, built in 1266, and the tomb

of Bahauddin Zakariya at Multan (died 1262) believed to have been built by the saint himself. The *Ukha Mandir* at Bayana was originally a Hindu temple converted into a mosque but has since been reconverted into a temple. At Multan is the tomb of another saint named Shamsuddin, locally known as Shams-i-Tabrez, which was built by his grandson, but which has received, from devotees, extensive renovations. Only the comparatively insignificant tomb of another saint at Multan, called Shadna Shahid, (killed in 1288) has preserved its original fabric, though in a very denuded form. The lofty gateway at Nagaur, known as the *Atarkin-ka-Darwaza*, has retained its original surface decorations; they are similar to those on Iltutmish's screen at Ajmer and so should be ascribed to that period. Muhammad b. Tughluq however, is known to have extensively renovated the original structure. The minar of Balban at Kol (Aligarh) erected during Mahmud's reign, but wantonly destroyed by the British district officer in 1860, was, in point of time and also of style, the second of its kind in India, meant to serve as a pillar of victory.

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